

300171

JPRS-EER-86-135

6 SEPTEMBER 1986

East Europe Report

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A

Approved for public release;
Distribution Unlimited

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 2

19980729 039

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

27
114
A06

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

6 SEPTEMBER 1986

EAST EUROPE REPORT

CONTENTS

AGRICULTURE

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Field Machinery Reduces Moisture Content of Hay, Green Fodder
(K. Schmidt, H. Strohmeier; AGRARTECHNIK, No 6, Jun 86) 1

ECONOMY

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- World Bank Membership Benefits for Bloc Countries Viewed
(Urszula Plowiec; ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, No 25, 22 Jun 86) 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Urban Urges Greater Export Efficiency
(Bohumil Urban; SVET HOSPODARSTVI, No 79, 1986) 13

HUNGARY

- Cardinal Eulogized in Party Paper as Cooperative, Realistic
(NEPSZABADSAG, 2 Jul 86) 20

POLAND

- Standard of Living, Education Level Relationship Studied
(Slawomir Mierzejewski; WIADOMOSCI STATYSTYCZNE, No 3, Mar 86) 23

ROMANIA

- Importance of Barter Transactions in International Trade
(Ioan Popa; REVISTA ECONOMICA, Nos 18, 22, 30 Apr, 30 May 86) 31

MILITARY

POLAND

Agenda, Equipment of Biochemical Warfare Research Unit (Slawomir Orlowski; ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 16 Jun 86)	38
---	----

POLITICS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Bogomolov, Others Work on UN 'Future of East Europe' Study (Pawel Bozyk Interview; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 9 Jul 86)	40
---	----

HUNGARY

Theoretical Conference Rejects Democratic Centralism, Party Role (Karoly Lipkovics; POLITIKA TUDOMANY, Nos 3, 4, 1985)	43
Marxist-Leninist Teaching Called Ineffective, Outdated (Gyorgy Jozsa Interview; IFJUKOMMUNISTA, No 4, 1986)	51
Speculation on Successor to Primate Lekai (Johann Georg Reissmuller; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 4 Jul 86)	56
Military, KISZ Youth Organization Cooperative Efforts (NEPHADSEREG, No 19, 10 May 86)	58
Advertising Alone To Support New Tourist Radio Station (NEPSZAVA, 21 Jun 86)	59
MSZMP Study Examines Weakness of Political System (Peter Schmidt; TARSADALOMTUDOMANYI KOZLEMENYEK, No 1, 1986)	61

POLAND

Krakow Unveils Workers Monument to Revolution (Andrzej Gesing; TRYBUNA LUDU, 24 Jun 86)	80
Poznan '56 Participant Recalls Political Events (Edmund Taszer Interview; WPROST, No 25, 22 Jun 86)	81
Solidarity, 1980s Featured in Hour-Long 'Documentary' (TRYBUNA LUDU, 25, 30 Jun 86)	85
Congress Delegates To View Film	85
Filmed Treatment Discussed, by Jerzy Jurczynski	86
Film Censorship Policy Provokes Attack (WPROST, No 24, 15 Jun 86)	89

Surge in Lemko Nationalism Disparaged (Jerzy Harasymowicz Interview; GAZETA KRAKOWSKA, 11 Jun 86) ...	90
Highway Link to Southern European Ports Favored (Piotr Zaremba; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 28-29 Jun 86)	94
Satirical Look at 'Egalitarian' Craze (Janusz Maka; ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 28-29 Jun 86)	95
Briefs	
Warsaw PZPR Tackles Addiction	97
Voivodship Prosecutors Confer	97
Defense Committees Meet	97
GDR Foreign Ministry Talks	97
PISM's New International Council	98
Party Psychologists, Educators Meet	98
NOWE DROGI Editorial Council	98
Political Consultations in Rome	98
Czyrek Article in 'PRAVDA'	98
Gertych Meets Science Journalists	99
Soviet Anniversary Meeting	99
Kiev, Jagiellonian Universities Agreement	99
Libyan Children Vacation	99
PZPR CC Lecturers Meet	99
Meeting With Soviet Political Scientists	100
Krosno Defense Committee	100
Olsztyn Defense Committee	100
Katowice Defense Committee	100
Israeli CP CC Visit	100
Farm Workers Union Meeting	100
National Grunwald Committee Plan	101
Moscow Embassy Hosts Meeting	101
Szczecin Defense Committee	101
Journalists on Congress Reports	101
PRON Meeting on Youth	101
Education Cooperation With Syria	102
Friendship Meeting With Iraq	102
Chinese Education Delegation Visits	102
Congo CP, OPZZ Meeting	102

YUGOSLAVIA

Delegate on Pollution at Romanian Border (POLITIKA, 25 Jul 86)	103
Briefs	
Zagreb Ecology Movement	104

SOCIOLOGY

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Slovak Minister Calls for Improvements in Higher Education (Jan Vajda; PRAVDA, 27 Jun 86)	105
--	-----

/7310

FIELD MACHINERY REDUCES MOISTURE CONTENT OF HAY, GREEN FODDER

East Berlin AGRARTECHNIK in German Vol 36 No 6, June 1986 pp 151-3

[Article by Dipl Ing K. Schmidt, Chamber of Technology, and Dr agr H. Strohmeier, Schlieben/Bornim Research Center for Agricultural Mechanization of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences of the GDR: "Potential and Limits of Stalk Processing for the Purpose of Accelerating the Drying Process in the Field"]

[Text] 1. Introduction

The production of wilted green fodder and hay are currently the determining harvesting and preservation methods for stalk fodder. The extent of losses and the quality of the fodder are greatly affected by the wilting and drying phase in the field. The harvesting procedures must therefore make effective use of climatic conditions during field drying in order to ensure sufficient dry substance content (DSC) during short drying times in the field. [1, 2].

It is most important that the mown fodder is spread in loose, well-mixed fashion to increase its exposed surface area with a weight per unit area of 2 to 3 kg/m² (fresh fodder). This can be achieved by using the equipment of the E303 swath-forming mower with spreader or by appropriate modifications to the E301 and E302 swath-forming mowers [1, 3]. The swath-forming mower can thus be used as a universal mower for wilted green fodder as well as for hay production, thereby making it possible to achieve harvestable wilted green fodder (DSC: 35 to 50%) in 2 days and semi-harvestable hay (DSC: 60 to 70%) in 3 to 4 days.

Using the new rotary turners and mowers as well as TRW42 drum-type turners has given the agricultural enterprises in the GDR the means to promote the drying process through mechanization with the objective of increasing the DSC of the harvested material (hay production), as well as to counteract the effects of precipitation [4].

Various methods of promoting drying, in addition to conventional stalk processing, have been the subjects of investigations both in the GDR and in other countries in the past several years. Above all, these methods incorporate special stalk processing treatments of the plants either before or in conjunction with the mowing process in order to change their physical, biological or

chemical characteristics with the goal of increasing the ability of the plants to give off water.

In the following, the most important results and conclusions will be discussed.

2. Stalk Processing Methods and Their Practical Significance

Pertinent literature deals with mechanical, chemical, electrical and thermal methods of treatment. To date, only mechanical treatment of plants has proven to be of great practical significance. Chemical, thermal and electrical procedures, on the other hand, are still in the experimental stage. Investigations in several countries, including the GDR, have shown that the cost/benefit ratio of these procedures is very high. In the near term, thermal and electrical processing methods are not expected to yield effective results. Chemical processing seems to have the best potential in the near term if low-loss, reliable preservation methods can be suitably improved, in addition to accelerating the drying procedure. At the present time, however, there is an international trend toward preservation only when the mown plant material is brought in from the field, or when it is stored [5]. Mechanical processing methods currently exhibit technical, technological and economic advantages. In contrast to the other processing methods, they can be used in combination with measures designed to reduce the weight per unit area (spreading) and to reduce the compaction of the mown stalks.

3. The Current State of Technical Development in Mechanical Stalk Processing

The objective of mechanical stalk processing is to increase the ability of the stalk fodder plants to give off water by changing their physical characteristics. This involves damaging the parts of the plants, principally those parts which do not dry well such as the stems, by compressing or beating them, or by subjecting them to frictional abrasion. The following two procedures have come into widespread international use:

- Roller processors add: [Walzenaufbereiter]
The plants are primarily processed by pressure (mashing, buckling). This procedure is used in self-propelled or drawn swath-forming mowers.
- Rotary processors add: [Rotoraufbereiter]
The plants are primarily processed by means of a combination of beating and frictional abrasion. This procedure is used in conjunction with rotary mowers (Fig. 1).

Roller processors as used with swath-forming mowers represent the state of the art. In the GDR, they are used in conjunction with the E301, E302 and E303 swath-forming mowers. The current state of international development is as follows:

- increasing use of rollers with profiled rubber surfaces instead of a pair of steel rollers
- use of broad mashing rollers instead of buckling rollers

- increased ratio of mashing width to mowing width, which in some cases extends to the full mowing width.

In spite of these improvements, satisfactory processing is only achieved in the case of thick-stemmed stalks (legumes). In the case of thin-stemmed grasses, the processing methods do not accelerate the drying process. Roller processors have found an additional, new application in the spreading of the mown material in conjunction with swath-forming mowers with deflectors.

Rotary processors, used only since the mid-1970's, were designed especially for the processing of grasses, and are in wide use in some Western European countries. Rotary processors work in a manner similar to that of overhead tedders. The higher peripheral velocity of the rotor (18 to 29 m/s), the greater tool density (up to 29 tools per meter of working width) and specific tool shapes process the mown material using a combination of beating and frictional abrasion which augments the tedding action. The effectiveness of this type of processing can be further increased by attaching or installing passive processing devices such as adjustable, profiled covers, impact strips, rakes or brushes. The active processing tools, made either of steel or nonmetallic materials such as plastics or hard rubber, are designed either as flail-type or flexibly mounted tines, and come in a number of different shapes. In use are flat or round steel bars; devices with right-angle bends and groups of brushes made of synthetic materials.

The effectiveness of rotary processors is assessed very differently in the pertinent literature. It depends to a great extent upon the natural and technological conditions of use. We found it necessary to carry out our own investigations in order to assess the potential of rotary processors under actual production conditions in the GDR.

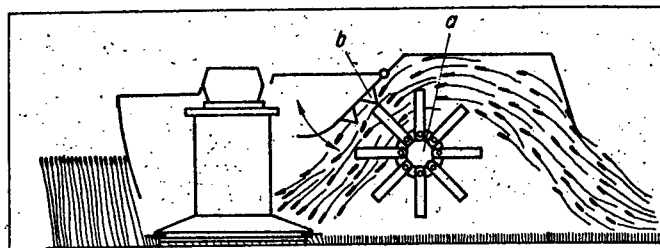


Fig. 1 Principle of Operation of a Rotary Mower in Combination with a Rotary Processor;

a Active processing device (rotor with beaters or spring tines),

b Passive processing devices (impact strips, rake)

The processing intensity can be varied by changing the rotor speed and via the passive processing devices.

4. Results of Our Own Investigations Into the Use of Rotary Processors

The suitability of rotary processors for accelerating the drying process of mown stalks in the field was investigated in two-year studies (1983 and 1984) of several test series each for conditions in the northern half of the GDR. These investigations included experiments under both field and model conditions. Whereas the investigations under model conditions verified the direct effect of processing, the objective of the field tests was to analyze the effect of processing in conjunction with spreading and subsequent processing. As opposed to the international state of development, the rotary processors were used not only in conjunction with rotary mowers, but also in conjunction with oscillating cutters, which are the implements of preference in the GDR. The investigations were each carried out with grasses in direct comparison with customary spreading and processing variants.

The investigations concentrated on the drying process, loss measurements and measurements of the amount of drive power required.

The most important results can be summarized as follows:

- The investigations reconfirmed that spreading and processing (tedding, turning) using conventional methods of mechanization (swath-forming spreading mowers, rotary turners) are very effective in ensuring high drying speed. At relatively little cost, proper use of these methods allows suitable drying rates to be achieved in wilted fodder and hay production.
- The investigations verified that the field drying process (particularly with respect to grasses) can be additionally accelerated through the use of rotary processors in conjunction with mowers; even under the climatic conditions of the GDR. (Fig. 2).
- The accelerated drying thus achieved is greatest within a DSC range of up to 60%, and thus particularly significant with respect to wilted fodder and hay production processes. It was observed that as drying continues (DSC 70%), the drying processes of prepared and non-prepared plant material converge. This observation would seem to indicate that the use of rotary processors in the production of dry hay has no practical significance.
- In contrast to tedding using the rotary turner during the mowing process, effective drying can be advanced by 2 to 3 hours within a DSC range of up to 60%. However this applies only to maximum preparation (maximum rotor speed in combination with passive processing tools). Minimum preparation (minimum rotor speed without passive tools) is hardly more effective than tedding with the rotary turner or spreading using the swath-forming mower (Fig. 2).

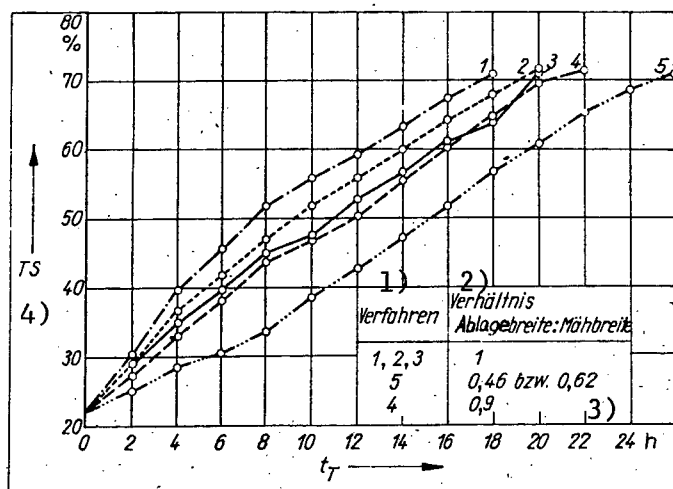


Fig. 2 Summary Representation of the Drying Processes of those Stalk Processing Variants Investigated; Variants 1 through 5, Including the Type of Subsequent Processing

Key:

1. Process
2. Ratio of Spreading Width to Mowing Width
3. 1
0.46 or 0.62
0.9
4. DS

- In broadening the international level of understanding, this acceleration of the drying process was also verified with respect to rotary processors used in conjunction with scissor-type mowers.
- Stalk preparation by rotary processors, if done properly, can increase the effectiveness of periods of good weather. If the weather is unfavorable, however, the use of rotary processors is disadvantageous, primarily because it increases losses due to elutriation and crumbling. Technological application of accelerated drying under practical conditions must be viewed as problematic, above all due to losses and climatic susceptibility.
- Effective stalk preparation goes hand in hand with increased expenditures in terms of energy and equipment. An average of 80% more drive power was required by rotary processors set for "heavy processing" than by rotary turners under varying conditions of use (Fig. 3).

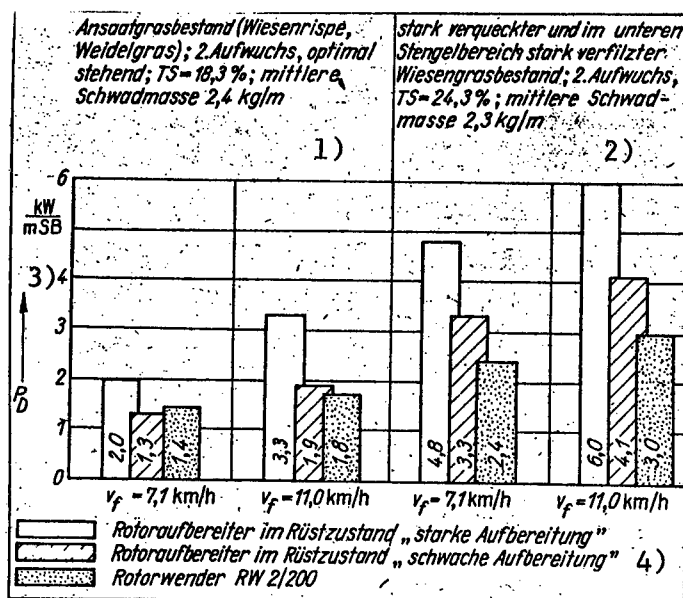


Fig. 3 Comparison of the Specific Required Rotary Power P_D per Meter of Cutting Width for Rotary Processors and Rotary Turners (with ZTR-165 Detachable Front-Mounted Mower); v_f = driving speed

Key:

1. Amount of Sown Grass (Meadow Panicle, English Ryegrass); 2nd Growth, Optimum State; DSC = 18.3%; Mean Swathed Mass of 2.4 kg/m
2. Highly Mixed Pasture Grass, Highly Felted in the Lower Stem Area; 2nd Growth, DSC = 24.3%; Mean Swathed Mass of 2.3 kg/m
3. kW/m of Windrowed Width
4. Processed by Rotary Processor Set for "Heavy Processing"
Processed by Rotary Processor Set for "Light Processing"
RW 2/200 Rotary Turner

5. Conclusions

The results obtained to date with regard to the accelerated drying effect produced by rotary processors do not at the present time justify wide application in the production of wilted green fodder and hay under production conditions as they exist in the GDR.

Emphasis remains on consistent use of spreading in conjunction with the use of swath-forming mowers and the effective use of new stalk preparation machines (rotary turners; rotary windrowers; drum-type turners).

If a detachable mower is used, it is recommended that a tedder be used immediately after mowing in order to accelerate the drying process. Here, the combination of detachable mower and RW2/200 rotary turner proved suitable. In 1985, a tedder for use with the Czechoslovakian ZTR-165 rotary mower was investigated within the framework of GDR state suitability testing. The GDR plans to import this rotary mower.

6. Summary

This article dealt with the potential and results obtained with regard to accelerated drying of mown stalk fodder in the field through selective stalk processing. The mechanical damaging of stalk material promotes the drying process to a limited extent. The effectiveness of newly-developed rotary processors used in conjunction with mowing, however, is not currently adequate for use under actual production conditions in the GDR.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- [1] Bachmann, K., "Information and Measures for the Improvement of Wilted Green Fodder Processing in Wilted Green Fodder and Hay Production," AGRARTECHNIK, Berlin, Vol 33 (1983) No 3, pp 115-116.
- [2] Ruecker, G. and Knabe, O., "Measures for Reducing Losses and Maintaining Quality in the Wilting of Grasses," FELDWIRTSCHAFT, Berlin, Vol 24 (1983), No 4, pp 174-176.
- [3] Strobel, W., "The E303 Swath-Forming Mower - a Further Development of the Stalk Fodder Production Machinery System," AGRARTECHNIK, Berlin, Vol 34 (1984), No 12, pp 557-559.
- [4] Bennewiz, H., "Information for Classifying the RS2/545 Rotary Turner and the TRW 42 Drum-Type Turner into the Hay and Wilted Green Fodder Production Methods," FELDWIRTSCHAFT, Berlin, Vol 26 (1985), No 4, pp 159-161.
- [5] Schmidt, K. and Strohmeier, H. Literature and patent evaluation on the subject of "tools for increasing the field drying speed of grasses and legumes while minimizing losses," Schlieben/Bornim Research Center for Agricultural Mechanization, 1984. A 4559

12644

CSO: 2300/432

WORLD BANK MEMBERSHIP BENEFITS FOR BLOC COUNTRIES VIEWED

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 25, 22 Jun 86 p 9

[Article by Urszula Plowiec; "The World Bank Benefits"]

[Text] Poland's return to the IMF allows us to join the International Reconstruction and Development Bank, usually called the World Bank. IMF members only can belong to the World Bank; the bank assists their development by providing, or supporting, private foreign investment through guarantees or participation in such investment projects.

The International Monetary Fund is regarded as an institution which assists its members in accomplishing their macroeconomic goals. The World Bank, on the other hand, is regarded as an institution which, thanks to its assistance in funding investment projects, promotes development, and therefore is interested in the microeconomic efficiency of its debtors. The structural balance of payments deficit, which followed the 1973 oil crisis and from the early 1980's on, the debt crisis in various countries has contributed to the erasing of the divide between the two institutions. At present, the World Bank does not exclusively deal with microeconomic problems.

The Bank Organization

At present 149 countries, both developed and developing, belong to the bank. Among them socialist countries: Yugoslavia (a founding member), Romania (since 1973), Hungary (since 1982), as well as the People's Republic of China and Vietnam. Poland, too, was one of the founding members, and on 26 March 1946 ratified the World Bank charter, but because of its inability to get financial aid (for development of coal mining, mainly) it withdrew on 14 March 1950.

The chief bank customers are countries where the per capita gross national income amounts to \$ 800-2,800, and are therefore treated as developing countries. According to the bank accounting methods--which might be doubtful, after all--the per capita national product equals \$ 2,150 in Hungary (1983), \$ 2,560 in Romania (1982), \$ 2,570 in Yugoslavia (1984), and \$ 390 in China. These states, therefore, as is Poland, are ranged in the developing countries group.

The paid up share capital contributed to the bank amounts to 54.5 percent of the sum agreed with the IMF. It is divided into two parts: the paid up capital (which amounts to 10 percent, out of which 1 percent of the member country contributes in gold or dollars, and the remaining 9 percent in its own currency), and capital in its own currency, which is not even supposed to be paid up but constitutes a guarantee fund to safeguard the bank obligation incurred through the emission of bonds or grant of guarantees.

In the FY 1985 the bank's subscribed capital totalled \$ 58,800 million, including just \$ 5,100 million actually paid up. The main source of bank resources consists therefore of bond emission and debts incurred (about \$ 66,000 million on 30 June 1985). These resources are supplemented by its own considerable income and reserves (e.g., \$ 4,900 million on 30 June 1985), since the bank pays no dividends to its shareholders. In 1985 the net bank income reached a record level of \$ 1,137 million, with the majority devoted to special reserves and the rest to the International Development Association (IDA), which grants financial assistance under especially favourable terms to its poorest member countries, where the per capita national product does not exceed \$ 410.

The bank can grant direct loans to its member countries as their sole creditor (usually the funds supplied by the bank amount to one-third of the total investment costs); participate in loans incurred by its member countries from multiple sources; or guarantee loans incurred from other credit givers. The sum total of indebtedness under all the three titles above mentioned should not exceed the untouched subscribed capital, reserves, and bank surpluses.

On June 1985 the loan-granting bank capacity amounted to some \$ 63,000 million. In 1982-85 the loans granted amounted to \$ 10,300-11,900 million annually.

The Opportunities

The bank grants loans exclusively to member-country governments, or to government-guaranteed enterprises and banks in those countries. Loans and guarantees are granted in a currency requested by the interested country, the lender however may use the funds only to cover the actually incurred currency outlays for the implementation of a bank-approved investment project. It should be added that purchase of investment goods and other assets can be done only through an open tender, with participation of both foreign suppliers from other member countries and the domestic ones.

Because of sharp competition--in particular since the payment is in cash--socialist countries, members of the bank and of the IDA, have until now very rarely supplied investment projects funded by those institutions. In case of Romania the supplies amounted (cumulatively) to \$ 131.3 million, i.e., 0.2 percent of all foreign supplies, and in case of Yugoslavia to \$ 509.5 million (0.8 percent of all foreign supplies). Hungarian suppliers have as yet won no foreign tenders at all, but then the period of this country's bank membership has been rather short.

The part of domestic producers in supplying investment projects carried out in socialist countries has been much higher. In 1975-85 the bank and the IDA paid \$ 1,450 million to Romanian suppliers, \$ 1,109 million to Yugoslavs, and \$ 48 million to Chinese ones.

Over the last 10 years the bank has been granting from 129 to 161 credits a year. In 1985 a lender averaged three loans. As a rule, the bank assigns the loans granted to 13 groups which include branches of economy or various activities, such as agriculture and rural development, financial facilities development, schools, development of energy sources, and industry; non-investment aims; population, health, and food; small enterprises; technical assistance; telecommunication; transport; urban development, water supply, and sewage. The greatest part of bank credits consists of outlays for agriculture (21 percent in 1985), energy sources development (29.6 percent in 1985), and transportation (16.4 percent respectively).

Bank credits are usually granted for ten to twenty years, with a 3-year waiting period. Their cost depends on the interest rate the bank pays when drawing its funds at financial markets. Since 1 July 1982 interest rates for loans granted were being verified every 6 months, i.e., on 1 January and 1 July, and the commission for a loan granted conforms to the average interest rate paid by the bank over the former half-year period, plus 0.5 percent bank commission. In 1982-85 bank loan costs have been reduced from 11.43 in July 1982 to 8.82 percent in July 1985.

The bank is frequently just one of the lenders who take part in the investment project financing. In 1985, for instance, it participated in funding 104 projects together with the IDA and with other official agencies and commercial banks. The bank's share in an investment project financing serves as a catalyst, and promotes transfer of funds from other sources (state institutions, export credits, commercial bank loans, as well as direct private investment), thanks to the confidence in the bank's correct decisions and to its supervision over the implementation of investment projects. The bank acts frequently as an organizer for banks consortia which fund costly investment.

In the 1980's the role of the bank loans in financing the pro-export orientation of the economic policies of the debtor countries has been increased, in particular in restructuring their economy. The goal is served by loans for structural adaptation, not linked to any specific investment projects but granted to the government of a country which intends to make changes in its selected economic sectors. The grant is conditional on reaching an agreement with the bank concerning the changes intended. In addition, it can be granted solely to a country which simultaneously carries out an economic recovery program, endorsed by the IMF. Loans for structural adaptation mean a series of loans, repeatedly granted for a 15 year period with a 3 year waiting period and about 8 percent interest.

Granting of bank resources for the funding of individual investment projects or investment programs for entire economy sectors, is preceded by a detailed and meticulous evaluation of such projects, done most carefully by the bank experts who often use accounting parameters of the investments' efficiency calculation.

Therefore between a year and a half and two years and a half might pass from the time of submission to the bank of the intended investment program by the government of the credit seeking country, to the beginning of its funding. In addition, the bank experts will supervise the investment implementation; at least once a quarter they will carry out a field inspection.

Thus, the bank membership creates an opportunity for acquirement of foreign currency for pro-export investment which promises loan repayment, but the "price" includes enforcing (within the best meaning of the term) of a multi-faced improvement on the investment process. An active member country of the bank might get each consecutive year the necessary means for carrying out several investment projects.

Socialist countries have acquired valuable experience out of their bank membership. Among direct benefits one has to include, above all, major amounts of funds received, on the average twice as high as those granted by the IMF. Until the end of FY 1985, Yugoslavia got from the IMF SDR 1,907 million and from the bank \$ 4,525 million. In the case of Romania it amounted to SDR 899 million (from the IMF) and \$ 2,184 million from the bank. Hungary got SDR 972 million, but \$ 803 million directly from the bank, plus--thanks to the bank--\$ 1,080 million from commercial banks, i.e., \$ 1,190 million total. The majority of funds acquired by Hungary (\$ 1,200 million) consists of the so-called financial B-loans, unlike A-loans granted to cover supplies for specific investment projects. B-loans are a new, pilot form of assistance, introduced in 1983-86 (one-tenth of funds given by the bank, nine-tenths by over 160 commercial banks with the World Bank guaranteeing, among others, long-term repayment, or even taking part in it). Hungary, having successfully entered Western financial markets, has gained thanks to it some 70 percent of the funds attracted by the bank for B-loans.

Extra-financial benefits linked to the bank membership include improved terms of credit taking, or the so-called credit standing of a country. Since acquiring a bank loan for implementation of a specific investment project is conditional on some minimal microeffectiveness of management, and--as far as entire sector investments or those who lean toward structural changes are concerned--on a certain functional effectiveness of structural changes as well, debtor countries deserve relatively higher confidence. Thus, for them it comes easier to get commercial bank loans, as well as to attract foreign investment capital.

Another meaningful benefit accrues from the increased effectiveness of investment cofunded by the bank, and from their positive impact both on the implementation of other investments and on production turned out thanks to such investments. The broader the scope of such investments, the more enterprises or sectors it involves, the larger the requirement for increased effectiveness of management.

One has to pay for learning, since the bank insists on very high quality of work, and most meticulously weighs its decision to finance investment, while its experts are most assiduous in asking many detailed questions. Such a style of work on the part of the experts--regarded as bureaucratic--forces

the investors to improve the quality of their work throughout the implementation stages of the investment project.

It brings out, above all, enormous improvement in the quality of marketing activity. Since loans are supposed to be repaid, the bank-financed investments have to be pro-export ones, and hence the overwhelming importance of the odds for marketing the goods in various foreign markets, for organization of selling, and for the adaptation to buyers' requirements as far as the goods' weight, packaging, durability, esthetics, etc., are concerned. Loan-taking countries, therefore, learn multifaced, interbranch investment and good marketing, or else pay dearly to Western corporations for their consulting services.

A similar, high intensive learning process concerns evaluation of investment projects profitability. The bank imposes on investing enterprises its own methods on how to rate investment profitability, its detailed stress on cost effectiveness, and its own principles of accounts keeping.

Another significant change concerns the way of purchasing investment goods and other products. The bank demands announcement of open tenders for supplies, thus ensuring reasonable purchase prices. Hence the need to set up a special agency which would be able to inform enterprises about future and present auctions, both abroad and at home, and would encourage them [to bid]. Hungarian experts, for instance, believe that prices paid for tenders are some 25 percent cheaper than the conventional ones. The above mentioned extra-financial benefits become apparent in the medium and long term. The short-term cooperation with the bank experts, however, is both labor- and time-intensive.

But in order to learn, one always has to pay the price!

12485/9274

CSO: 2600/543

URBAN URGES GREATER EXPORT EFFICIENCY

Prague SVET HOSPODARSTVI in Czech No 79, 1986 p 3

[Excerpts from speech by Bohumil Urban, CSSR minister of foreign trade, on the occasion of the general meeting of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Trade and Industry: "Emphasis on Greater Efficiency in Czechoslovak Exports"]

[Text] In the great hall of the Palace of Culture in Prague, the general assembly of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Trade and Industry was held after 5 years on 25 June. The assembly evaluated the work which had been done over the past 5 years and set the principal directions for activities by the chamber for the period 1986 through 1990. At the beginning of the session, Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Trade Bohumil Urban spoke, among others, about the tasks in the area of cooperation with socialist and nonsocialist countries; he also addressed questions of foreign trade efficiency, cooperation between production and foreign trade, and management in the area of external economic relations. In his speech, the minister said the following among other things:

It is a known fact that our trade with socialist countries today represents roughly three-quarters of our foreign trade volume. Developments over the past 5 years have been truly dynamic and trade with these countries rose by more than 50 percent. The largest increment was experienced with respect to our principal trading partner--the Soviet Union--where turnover rose by 87 percent in comparison to 1980. Also, our trade with the GDR rose by more than 40 percent over the past 5 years, trade with Poland by 54 percent, with Hungary by 42 percent, with Bulgaria by 97 percent, and trade with Cuba doubled. Similarly, trade with Yugoslavia rose by 42 percent, despite the fact that that country has problems, particularly during recent years. Trade turnover involving the People's Republic of China rose by a factor of more than 2.5. This is, overall, a positive development even though higher raw materials prices exerted their influence on this dynamic.

If we consider the tasks which we must achieve in the current 5-year plan, then we must anticipate the growth of exports to socialist countries by 22 to 25 percent which is roughly one-half of the rate which was recorded during the past 5 years. Where must one seek the causes for this status. I want to stress that this is true not only of Czechoslovakia. Virtually all countries of our community reached the conclusion that increasing commercial exchanges

merely by further increasing goods exchange is not adequate to reach the level of planned growth. In the past, the largest source of the increment in trade was the raw materials component and the processing of raw materials. This area of goods exchange is practically exhausted. In all countries, including the USSR, raw material resources are limited and the uncovering of new deposits is costly.

If we wish to assure ourselves of the availability of the necessary raw material resources for the long term, we must participate in their uncovering and exploitation. An example of this is our participation in building the Yamburg gas pipeline, as a result of which we will gradually acquire 2 to 5 billion m³ of gas per year for a period of 20 years. The first segment of the pipeline will become operational in 1988/1989. A similar example is our participation in the utilization of new iron ore deposits at Krivoy Rog, where we are also assuring ourselves of deliveries for a period of 90 years. We rendered similar assistance to the Government of Poland in maintaining the extraction of sulfur with the goal of assuring ourselves long-term deliveries of this material. In a similar manner, we are assuring ourselves of deliveries of graphite electrodes for a period of 90 years by participating in Poland and I could speak in a similar vein of our participation in uncovering deposits of nickel and cobalt in Punta Gorda and Las Camariocas in Cuba, of a joint venture in extracting mineral raw materials in the Mongolian People's Republic, of deliveries of two electric power plants to the People's Republic of China in exchange for raw materials, foodstuffs, and consumer goods, of the establishment of rubber and coffee plantations in Vietnam, and of other campaigns. These are all examples which solve the future development of the exchange of goods, assure us of deliveries of raw materials in exchange for machinery--something which would be difficult to accomplish within the framework of traditional commercial transactions.

Also, in our exports of consumer goods we cannot anticipate large growth in production and, thus, not even in trade. Here, plans call primarily for modernization with a goal of increasing the quality of our exports.

Consequently, the only logical way left to us to assure the dynamics of trade involving socialist countries is a substantially greater share in cooperation and specialization, particularly in engineering sectors, in electrotechnics, and in chemistry.

The fact that intrasectoral cooperation is not well developed, the fact that in CEMA countries, and in our country, there are few specialized producers for various components of a key technical level for the engineering industry and for the electrotechnical industry, is confirmed not only by the numbers but primarily by the low level of the products which we frequently offer each other and which we have quite a bit of difficulty placing on the world market.

This is why the significance of direct contacts between producers was so correctly emphasized. These direct contacts received new rules within CEMA which are supposed to be simple and are supposed to make it possible for enterprises to initiate contacts with each other on the basis of their own calculations of mutual advantage. They can but need not utilize the services of the appropriate foreign trade enterprise in so doing.

Plans for mutual trade involving socialist countries will continue to reflect the effort to achieve mutually balanced trade. The only area in which it is possible to anticipate a good volume of sales will be engineering products on a high technical level. We should have more of them during the course of the 5-year plan than we have at our disposal today.

As far as trade with the USSR is concerned, we will not be attaining such high rates as was the case in the 7th Five-Year Plan. We will be dealing roughly with a 5-percent annual increase. The higher rates of trade exchange will not be participated in by raw materials whose deliveries in the 8th Five-Year Plan are to remain roughly at previous levels. Our participation in building the Yamburg pipeline, in erecting the enterprise at Karachaganak, in extracting ores at Krivoy Rog, and in other projects will be reflected through a greater growth of the dynamics of trade involving the USSR, primarily through the exchange of machinery and installations. We must also be concerned about the greater share of machinery imports from the USSR. A question of similar seriousness, which cannot be deferred to another 5-year plan, involves the delivery of spare parts for our machinery. We are not satisfied with its status, particularly with respect to deliveries of spare parts for transport facilities, including cargo trucks, trolleybuses, motorcycles, electric locomotives, and other products. Both production and foreign trade must adopt a far more critical attitude toward these questions than has been the case thus far and must create consistent pressure designed to affect change for the better.

It is necessary to reorient commercial work in socialist countries toward new requirements, the most important of which involve the seeking out of new forms of cooperation, recommendation of and proposals for direct contacts, making sure that mutual information exchange is improved between producers, improving information on long-term intentions in the development of sectors, branches, or the entire national economy. In this direction, the Czechoslovak Chamber of Trade and Industry, as well as the Czechoslovak-Soviet Chamber of Commerce, can find many opportunities and topics for its work.

The tasks in exports to nonsocialist countries, which are placed before us by the 8th Five-Year Plan, presuppose an increase in exports by about 15 percent. This is a rate which is not high at first glance. The difficulty of the plan, however, lies in a more complicated fact, since there is a substantial change in the composition of our exports. As early as this year, we are anticipating a substantial decline in the exports of metallurgical products, of rolled materials, of fuels, and raw timber. These changes are naturally advantageous, even if the limitations on the exports of raw materials result in considerable problems with respect to finding replacements for these export components. High tasks, therefore, are faced by engineering industries where general engineering already has a plan which is 6 percent higher this year and the electro-technical industry faces a plan which is virtually 10 percent higher than was the case previously.

The export of machinery has a decisive meaning for us even in the future. Even though this is the case, we have thus far not mastered all of its complexity with respect to production and trade. Its share in the overall exports to nonsocialist countries continues to be low and accounts for roughly 30

percent of the foreign trade volume. This is very little, but we must be most dissatisfied with the share of machines and installations in exports to developed capitalist countries. The fact that machines and installations represent only about 11 percent of our exports to this area is unacceptable for the future. With respect to machinery exports we must primarily develop a longer term and conceptual approach, enter closer cooperation with developed and serious firms. After all, it is not normal for industrial cooperation to continue to account for not quite 1 percent in the overall exports to nonsocialist countries.

In this connection, I wish to mention another of the opportunities which recently opened up, which is the establishment of joint ventures. The Government of Czechoslovakia decided, during the second half of last year, that it is possible to establish joint ventures in Czechoslovakia involving socialist or nonsocialist enterprises. The above decision presupposes the establishment of such enterprises in the area of industry, limiting the participation of foreign capital to 49 percent. The transfer of profits to a foreign country is permitted, the participation of the foreign participant in management is anticipated, the free formation of prices is anticipated, etc., all within the framework of Czechoslovak regulations and appropriately adjusted relevant special permits.

Despite the fact that some of our CEMA partners already have considerable experience involving these enterprises, we, in Czechoslovakia, are at the beginning in this direction. We are not concerned with quantities, but with the quality of such enterprises. Despite the fact that a number of months have passed since the government decision and several proposals are being prepared, it turns out that our production enterprises are not prepared for this form of entrepreneurship; frequently, they are unable to apply it or are afraid of completely unique results or the responsibility for work of such an enterprise. We believe that it is necessary to support this tendency with serious proposals, but to give priority treatment to tried firms and partners. In this way, we will attain permanent commercial relationships and reach a higher level of technology. The Czechoslovak Chamber of Trade and Industry committed itself in this respect and I anticipate that it will continue to function as a place of consultation.

The basic problem involving trade with developing countries is their heavy indebtedness. The overall size of the debts today represents roughly 30 percent of the value of the total production of developing countries and is 50 percent higher than their current total export capacity. Just the increasing payments, including interest payments, sap virtually one-fourth of the overall export volume of the developing countries. Problems involving indebtedness are, unfortunately, growing with a few exceptions.

The developing countries naturally limit their imports, limit their investments, are late with their payments to foreign countries. This is naturally reflected in the growth of our outstanding debts and pressures on our counter-acceptance of domestic products and manufactured goods. This development makes it difficult for us to do business with these countries. Nevertheless, our exports to developing countries rose by 26 percent over the past 5 years.

If we consider how we should continue cooperating with these countries, then we reach the opinion that, despite all problems, it is possible to make sales in developing countries, and to find room for investments, although only under favorable credit terms, only making "turnkey" deliveries, including technical assistance, and only provided suitable domestic products can be found which would form the basis for compensation. We must do business in these countries, but we must, at the same time, be aware of the risks and rational limits of this business.

A prerequisite for good commercial work are the results in efficiency pertaining to our foreign trade exchange. Our actions in this direction have been frequently criticized; objective indicators have shown a constant decline since 1980 and only 1985 indicates that this decline ended and, in some cases, there were some more positive developments. Practice has shown that the efficiency of our exports is influenced basically by four decisive factors. The first of these is the technical level of products. It has been proven that it is precisely the technical level of products which has the greatest effect on price.

The second factor influencing efficiency involves our production costs and wholesale prices. It is particularly with respect to wholesale prices that we have permitted some unhealthy tendencies; producers are figuring in high production costs and surcharges and by exerting pressure on wholesale prices are trying to cover up low productivity. This results in a paradox which indicates that the more labor-intensive a product is being offered, the lower the efficiency of its export turns out to be. It has developed that it is necessary to gradually change this practice and, for the present 5-year plan, measures were adopted which should render the formation of wholesale prices more objective.

A third factor which is decisive with respect to efficiency is the development of world foreign exchange rates. These exchange rates have changed in the past, are changing, and will change in the future and Czechoslovakia will have difficulty influencing this development with its economic weight in the world economy. However, we must figure on this objective factor and we must know how to utilize the development of world foreign exchange rates in our commercial work. Finally, the last factor and one in which we see sizable reserves, is the quality of commercial work. Our attention is focused particularly upon better pricing work, upon better work performed by the foreign trade network, upon intensifying the enterprise policy of our foreign trade enterprises, and upon a better-thought-out import policy.

We see the assurance of proexport programs worked out and realized jointly by production and by the foreign trade establishment with the goal of doing better with our production in the world market as the principal method of reaching a higher technical level which is comparable with world competition. To work up such a program requires primarily a great deal of technical work which we cannot accomplish only in one industry, but only jointly in production and in foreign trade. We have ordered the working out of such a program involving roughly 85 decisive product assortments or product groupings. Today, after 18 months of their realization, it turns out that roughly one-half of these

programs is commensurate with our intentions and goals with respect to their content. The second half has been worked out formally and does not represent a factual program involving increases in technical levels. We see the proexport programs as a permanent conceptual task which must be perfected and which will form the content of our work throughout the 5-year plan. The proexport programs cannot remain merely on paper, but must include significant innovations which will receive priority treatment even with respect to the allocation of resources for investment. A bolder approach must also characterize the acceptance of pledges to pay off investments, for example, through the means of foreign exchange return credits where, in comparison to the past, good conditions prevail currently.

Over the past years, we have implemented closer cooperation between production and foreign trade in cooperation with production enterprises. We have applied a number of experiments, ranging from differentiated rules governing material incentives applicable to the efficiency of exports in the Jablonec Costume Jewelry Concern, through the agent form of brokering relationships involving exports, all the way through the granting of foreign trade authority to production enterprises. The results are generally known. They showed us their advantages, as in the case of the Jablonex Enterprise and the Jablonec Costume Jewelry Concern, where the efficiency of exports was expressly increased. However, the experiments also pointed up shortcomings. The agent-type relationships helped promote mutual information exchange and better knowledge of the requirements of the foreign market with respect to production, however, unfortunately, failed to provide motivation for better and higher technical levels. Similarly, results recorded by economic production units and enterprises which took over export functions into their own hands, unfortunately, failed to bring about changes in attitude with respect to modernization and higher technical levels, with a few exceptions.

However, we must not permit these results to expressly influence us. It is not even possible to reach the conclusion that everything must be left as it was. New tasks demand changes in relationships between production and foreign trade. We are working on new proposals and will gradually test them. Even so, it is necessary to find final solutions for the greater economic dependence and stimulation of enterprises with respect to exports, including the export of complete industrial plants--an area in which the relationships between the principal supplier and subcontractors have not been solved with any degree of finality. All changes which will be proposed in this connection must serve the primary requirement--to increase export capabilities and the competitiveness of our products, be it with regard to quality, technical level, or delivery deadlines. In this area, we will have to proceed more resolutely, without regard to current industry barriers.

In the system of our external relationships the Czechoslovak Chamber of Trade and Industry will continue to occupy an irreplaceable position in the ensuing era. The chamber, and particularly its sections and commissions, are places where representatives of production enterprises and foreign trade meet and can express their interests and needs, without inhibitions, as far as their mutual cooperation is concerned.

We believe that the chamber can make a substantial contribution toward increasing export efficiency in the Czechoslovak economy through its possibilities and the means which include the assurance of essential information, the processing of proposals to simplify foreign trade, the propagation of new foreign and domestic methods, the acquisition of new foreign trade contacts and possibilities, as well as the rendering of assistance in removing obstacles to trade policy.

5911

CSO: 2400/375

CARDINAL EULOGIZED IN PARTY PAPER AS COOPERATIVE, REALISTIC

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Jul 86 p 5

[Unsigned article: "Laszlo Lekai: 1910-1986"]

[Text] Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, archbishop of Esztergom and president of the Hungarian Catholic Bishops' Conference died on 30 June in his 77th year in Esztergom as a result of a heart attack.

Laszlo Lekai's farewell will be held at 1100 on 8 July, on the square before the Esztergom basilica.

The National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, of whose presidium Laszlo Lekai's was a member, speaks in its obituary of the loss his passing means to Hungarian society. "With his death an outstanding church leader and Hungarian patriot who was faithful to his country, people, and church has departed from the ranks of the living. It is our conviction that the enduring value of his life's work is the newest in the history of our era, which we must continue to build with the common responsibility due this matter." On Tuesday the National Council sent a telegram of condolence to the Hungarian Roman Catholic Bishops' Council on the occasion of the passing of the cardinal.

His death is mourned by the largest Hungarian religious community, the Catholic Church. He headed the faculty of the Bishops' College for more than a decade. But all of Hungarian society, as well as the nation, bows its head before the memory of Cardinal Lekai, who toiled, with so much zeal that belied his age, for its peace and prosperity.

Much is expressed in this bowing of heads. The fact that in our country the followers of the Catholic Church are respected companions of our friends who profess different beliefs and world views, and that this connection, despite increases in international and domestic problems, stands up to the test of time. And that Laszlo Lekai, despite his not easy inheritance, which he had to take into account, watched faithfully and patiently, not without constructive criticism, supporting the development of this solidarity that paved the way for himself. He valued his achievements without partiality and called his faults by their names. Those who are not familiar enough with the history of the relationship between the Catholic Church and the

state in the years following our liberation cannot value enough the significance of the changes that have occurred in this area. The anticlericalism, which by necessity represented the standpoint of the left side at this time, appeared along with the activation of semifeudal, antisocialist, antidemocratic powers holding significant positions in the church. That beginning with the second half of the fifties, according to the spirit of Marxism, the communists clearly distinguished between intellectual debates carried on with religion and the necessity of cooperation with religious men and their churches, and that Hungarian Catholicism was correcting its relationship to the practice of democracy and socialism more and more, are the opposite sides of the same coin. Understanding, dialog, behavior that is sovereignly loyal to its own principles but is increasingly aware of worldly challenges, gains ground on both sides, to the good fortune of our people and society. A significant part was played by those church leaders who, continuing the best Hungarian Catholic humanistic traditions accepted the hand extended toward them, in the fact that in our country this relationship is not only normal and satisfying, but that we can face the world without conflict between the faith of religious men and their political conscience.

Succisa virescit: "The pruned tree will send shoots"; he made this motto of the Murakeresztur Benedictine Abbey his own in a difficult moment of his life. This frequently quoted motto reflects Laszlo Lekai's broad patriotism as well as our country's historical experiences: the hope of happier years and historical possibilities after misfortune. But naturally other things are also mentioned in the cardinal's creed: the Catholic Church, like everywhere in the world, must be freed from its historical burdens in order for its tree to bear a more noble and bountiful harvest. Cardinal Lekai represented that thinking which finally triumphed at the Second Vatican Council, and which also helped the Hungarian church along the path on which it had started even before the Council. But even if it received censored judgement outside of the church (and within the church), its merits can hardly be damaged: this criticism was mostly the manifestation of those powers that received the historical results of the council (and within this especially the changing practical relations of believers and unbelievers), with reservations and opposition as well. The cardinal denied these manifestations with unmistakable certainty. "The West expects us to strike the table and wants to tell us what to do. However, we will not do this," he stated in the CATHOLIC HERALD, a British weekly. And in fact, he did not do this, but rather what he deemed in the best interests of his Church. And it became clear that these interests coincided with the interests of Hungarian non-Catholics.

Doubtless his personal life experiences played a role, too, in allowing him to do so much toward allowing his church to live within the possibilities of religious freedom guaranteed in our constitution, toward letting it fulfill a significant cultural, moral, and social role in the life of the nation, toward receiving its share in the protection of valuable historic church monuments, and toward promoting the development of a constructive relationship between church and state in our country: throughout his career spanning over half a century during which he served his church and nation in turn as a parson, in intimate proximity to his faithful, as a teacher

of theology, as an administrator, and finally as a bishop, archbishop, and cardinal. Although his career was not free of historical and personal shocks, in his quiet but consistent and steadfast manner, inspired by the image of the pruned tree that sends green shoots, Laszlo Lekai was able to turn these toward the good and useful.

In 1976, when Pope Paul VI named him Archbishop of Esztergom, he summarized his program thus: "I consider it may calling to stand on the ground of realities, to promote the process of development, instead of trying to reverse it." He did not keep secret what he meant by this, telling an Italian Catholic periodical that: "...the Catholic world found impossible: socialist harmony...", whose importance, along with the well-being and security of society, was also emphasized by Papal encyclicals. He approved with deep conviction what was heard during the report of the Central Committee at the 13th MSZMP Congress, about the organized relationship of church and state, that the cooperation of the two parties "is built upon responsibility forr the rate of the homeland," and "it is in the interest of both parties that this relationship continue its advance under peaceful circumstances along the road of economic, social, and cultural progress." This was emphasized by the head priest, who at the same time naturally made it unmistakably clear that: "The religious person finds it impossible to compromise his world view with the world view of another unbeliever...It is impossible for the two to approach one another, however one thing is possible: to respect the other person's convictions."

Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, active member of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front, whose merits were recognized by the state by awarding him the ruby decorated Order of the Flag of the Hungarian People's Republic, has departed from among us. That decade, however, during which he channeled all his strength into his work in order that his church might follow in the paths of Saint Gellert, Janos Kapisztran, Frater Gyorgy, Mihaly Horvath, and Gyula Czapik, finding its own identity in debates with others of different beliefs and in common work, remains as an example that can and should be followed by its descendants. With this conviction, and in the spirit of this mentality, shocked, we share the mourning of the faithful.

/12948

CSO: 2500/365

STANDARD OF LIVING, EDUCATION LEVEL RELATIONSHIP STUDIED

Warsaw WIADOMOSCI STATYSTYCZNE in Polish No 3, Mar 86 pp 24-27

[Article by Slawomir Mierzejewski, Department of Social Research of the Chief Statistical Bureau: "Differences in the Conditions of Working Households in Relation to the Level of Education of the Head of Household"]

[Text] Using the results of a study of 1984 household budgets, we have tried to present the degree of difference in the living conditions of working households in relation to the level of education of the head of household.

To begin with, we would like to explain that the term of "household" will be used interchangeably with "family" despite any difference in their scope. The subject of our studies is one- or multi-member households. A multi-member household is any group of people living and subsisting together. Single persons living alone comprise a single-member household. Households can therefore be formed by a biological family (a couple with children or one parent with children), a so-called extended family spanning different age generations or marital relations (grandparents with grandchildren), unrelated persons or a family with unrelated persons.

Characteristics of the Studied Group

The number of working households studied in 1984 amounted to 11,583. The largest group of 3845 (33.2 percent) was the households, the head of which had a primary vocational education and the second largest group (3619 or 31.2 percent) was families in which the head of household had a middle education. The next two groups in order of size were the households in which the head had a primary education (2531 or 21.9 percent) and those whose head and household had a higher education (1328 or 11.5 percent of the entire group).

The largest group is the one in which the head of household had a primary vocational education. The average number of persons in such a household was 3.82 while the households whose head possessed a primary education had an average of 3.63 members. There was an average of 3.30 persons in households in which the head had a middle education. The lowest number of persons was found in the households whose head had a higher education. That figure amounted to 3.20 persons which is 0.62 persons (or 16.2 percent) less than the households of persons having a primary vocational education (table 1).

With regard to working people, the great number was found in the households headed by people with higher educations for an average 1.64 persons working in contrast to the 1.60 persons working in a household headed by a person with a primary education. Therefore, the highest index of professional activity is found in the households headed by people with higher educations (51.1 percent). This means that more than half of the family members are working. The lowest index of 41.7 percent was found in the families in which the head of household had a primary vocational education (table 1). This is closely connected with family size which is largest in the households of persons with primary vocational educations. One must assume that with the larger number of children in this group, the women more frequently take maternity leave and work less which affects family income.

Differences In Income

The education of the head of household affects the amount of income per member of household. Generally speaking, the higher the level of education, the higher the education, the greater the income per member of family. In 1984, in families in which the head of household had a higher education, the average monthly income per capita was 13,958 zlotys. In the families headed by persons with middle educations, the average monthly income per capita was 11,714 zlotys and therefore 2244 zlotys or 16.1 percent lower than the former group. In the families headed by persons with primary educations, the monthly income per capita was as much as 28.5 percent (or 4031 zlotys) lower (table 2). Similar proportions are found in the ratio of total income to income from work which in families headed by persons with middle educations amounted to 8368 zlotys per capita per month (18.9 percent or 1944 zlotys less) and in families headed by persons with primary educations (30.0 percent or 3094 zlotys less).

The tendency for lower income in families headed by persons with less education is most obvious in the case of "other" income. The level of other income is barely 44.6 percent in families headed by persons with primary educations of that achieved by families of persons with higher educations.

A reverse tendency can be seen in the case of social benefits and especially those gained from family gardening. The level per capita rises, the lower the level of education. The per capita income from gardening is 85.7 percent and 156 zlotys higher in families of persons with primary educations than those of persons with higher educations (table 2).

These differences in family income in relation to the education of the head of household influence the structure of that income. The overall amount of net income from proceeds rises the lower the education from 86.8 percent in higher-education households to 90.9 percent in primary-education households. This means that in the families headed by persons with higher educations, the net income is more highly affected by payments for credits or loans. In the families of higher education, this figure amounts to 1844 zlotys per month per capita while it is 901 zlotys per month per capita in those headed by persons with primary educations.

There is a similar tendency in the percent of social benefits and especially those gained from gardens and this fluctuates between 1.3 percent in the families of persons with higher educations and 3.4 percent in the families headed by persons with primary educations (table 2). The percentage of income from work varies only slightly and is highest in the highly-educated groups where it reaches a level of 73.9 percent as opposed to 72.7 percent in the families headed by persons with primary educations.

Table 3 shows that the families of highly-educated persons have a much better situation than the families with the lowest level. This table shows that the lower the level of education, the higher the per-capita percentage of members earning low incomes. At the same time, the percentage of households with high percapita incomes decreases. About 8.8 percent of the households headed by persons with higher educations take in 7000 zlotys. For families of persons with middle educations, this amounts to 18.4 percent, 29.1 percent for those with vocational educations and 29.6 percent for those with primary educations.

It is the opposite case in the families of persons with higher educations in which more than one than one-third or 33.7 percent of the households had a per capita monthly income of over 14,000 zlotys. About 20.6 percent of the families of persons with middle educations achieved such a high level of monthly per capita income while only 15.8 percent of the primary-education households achieved this.

Differences In Expenses

The level of expenses decreases the lower the family education. In the families headed by persons with higher educations in 1984, the average monthly proceeds per capita was 12,556 zlotys. It was 17.1 percent (or 2141 zlotys) in the families whose head of household had a middle education, 30.3 percent lower in the families of persons with primary vocational educations and 32.6 percent (or 4087 zlotys) less in the primary-education families.

As table 4 shows, expenditures for various needs within the family decrease the lower the education of the head of household.

Monthly expenses for clothing and shoes per person start at 1447 zlotys for the high-education group and drop down to 1015 zlotys for the primary-education group which is 27.4 percent (or 397 zlotys) less. The least educated heads of household spend 846 zlotys per month per capita for housing expenses which is more than one-third or 480 zlotys less than the higher-education group. The former group spends 197 zlotys per capita per month for personal hygiene and health care which is 203 zlotys less or nearly half of what the group with higher educations spend. There are even greater differences in the expenditures for culture, education, upbringing, sports, tourism, vacations, transportation and communications.

For the first of the above-mentioned groups of needs, the families of persons that have only a primary education spend barely 35.5 percent (or 582 zlotys) or nearly a third of what the high-education group spends for that purpose. For transportation and communication, they spend 319 zlotys or 26.6 percent of the figure for the latter group (table 4).

With regard to family expenses, food costs amount to 39.1 percent of the earnings of the families of persons with higher educations as opposed to 51.0 percent in the primary-education group. Respectively, the percent of housing expenditures amount to 11.4 percent and 10.7 percent while for hygiene and health care, they are 3.4 percent and 2.5 percent. About 10 percent of the income of the higher-education group goes for transportation and communications while only four percent of the income of the lowest-education group is spent for these needs.

Differences In Levels of Consumption

In looking at the consumption of primary articles, it must be said that more bakery goods, potatoes, meat including meat products and poultry and milk are consumed in the lower-education family groups. The reverse is true in the consumption of fruits and fruit products, butter, eggs and cheese. We can say that the working families of persons with higher educations eat more rationally. They consume more nutritious and better-quality foods.

While the families of persons with higher educations consume an average of 6.22 kilograms per capita of bakery goods per month, primary-education families consume 8.74 kilograms per capita per month which is 40.5 percent more. The latter group also consumes 9.25 kilograms per capita per month of potatoes which is 3.01 or 48.2 percent more than the former. Monthly milk consumption is somewhat higher and amounts to 1.34 liters more per month (or 15.8 percent) or 9.82 liters per person.

The families headed by persons with higher educations consume 4.17 kilograms of fruit per capita each month which is 1.19 kilograms (39.9 percent) or more than one-third more than the families head by persons with primary schooling.

In the case of cheeses, the higher-education group consumes 1.15 kilograms per person per month which is 0.32 kilograms (or 38.6 percent) more than the primary-education group (table 5). On the other hand, less meat is consumed by the former group (0.74 kilograms or 15.5 percent less) than the latter and this is undoubtedly due to differences in nutritional standards owing to the greater amount of physical labor required in the vocations of the less-educated heads of household. Another reason for the higher consumption of meat in the lower-education groups is the greater number of children per household.

Differences In Household Appliances and Equipment

The head of household's level of education has an effect on how well equipped his home is. In this too, the situation differs greatly between the households of the most highly-educated and the least educated. With the exception of black-and-white televisions, washers and vacuum cleaners, manual sewing machines and motorcycles, the other items of table 5 are found in much greater abundance in the more highly-educated families and this compensates for the lower ownership of the above-named items. This is especially true of items satisfying higher-order needs such as color televisions, stereos and tape recorders, cameras and photographic equipment, pianos, passenger automobiles, summer houses and pleasure boats as well as automatic washers.

There are 34 color televisions for every 100 families of higher education while there are just 9, or four times fewer sets for the families of persons who have only a primary school education. The number of stereos per 100 higher-education families is 38 with 22, 16 and 14 respectively for every 100 families of persons with secondary, primary vocational and primary educations. For the number per hundred families of tape recorders, the respective figures are 80, 69, 62 and 47.

In the case of photographic equipment, the number per 100 families of persons with higher educations is 47 (or more than three times) more than for the families of persons with primary educations. The lower number of electrical washing machines among the families of more highly-educated persons is attributable to the greater number of automatic washers which per 100 families amounts to the following figures (respectively): 66 and 14 or more than four times. Per 100 families of higher education, there are 103 refrigerators and 45 electrical sewing machines while for the lesser-educated groups, this amounts to 99 and 21.

Every other family headed by a person with a higher education has a passenger automobile while only every seventh family of a person with a primary education has its own car (table 6).

Table 1. General information about working households according to the education of the head of household

Specification	Total	Level of education			
		higher secondary		primary vocational	primary
Number of studied households	11,583	1328	3619	3845	2531
Average number of persons	3.53	3.20	3.30	3.82	3.63
Average number of persons working	1.60	1.64	1.61	1.60	1.60
Index of vocational activity	45.4	51.1	48.6	41.7	44.2

Table 2. Average monthly per-capita income in working families according to the level of education of the head of household

Specification	Higher	Secondary	Primary vocational	Primary
In zlotys per person				
Total proceeds	13,958	11,714	10,240	9927
Income:				
total	12,114	10,177	9170	9026
from work	10,312	8368	7511	7218
social benefits	1463	1518	1364	1400
other income	157	106	66	70
from gardens	182	185	228	338
Percent according to type of income				
Total proceeds	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Income:				
total	86.8	86.9	89.6	90.9
from work	73.9	71.4	73.4	72.7
social benefits	10.5	13.0	13.3	14.1
other income	1.1	0.9	0.7	0.7
from gardens	1.3	1.6	2.2	3.4
Indicator: household with higher education of head of household = 100				
Total proceeds	100.0	83.9	73.4	71.5
Income:				
total	100.0	84.0	75.7	74.5
from work	100.0	81.1	72.8	70.0
social benefits	100.0	103.8	93.2	95.7
other income	100.0	67.5	42.0	44.6
from gardens	100.0	101.6	125.3	185.7

Table 3. Breakdown of households according to head of household's education and income groups

Income groups (monthly income in zlotys per capita)	Education			
	higher	secondary	primary vocational	primary
	in percent			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
5000 and less	0.9	3.9	7.1	8.6
5001-6000	3.0	5.9	10.2	9.7
6001-7000	4.9	8.6	11.8	11.3
7001-8000	5.9	9.2	12.1	10.1
8001-9000	8.3	10.2	11.5	8.9
9001-10,000	8.6	11.2	10.9	10.2
10,001-11,000	8.5	10.4	8.5	8.7
11,001-12,000	9.3	8.3	6.3	6.6
12,001-14,000	16.9	11.7	9.2	10.1
14,001 and more	33.7	20.6	12.4	15.8

Table 4. Average monthly household expenses per person according to the level of education of the head of household

Specification	Higher	Secondary	Primary vocational	Primary
in zlotys per capita				
Total	12,556	10,415	8753	8469
Expenses including:	11,603	9647	8107	7925
food	4534	4223	3897	4044
alcohol	290	293	281	287
tobacco	163	168	165	167
shoes and clothing	1447	1262	1084	1050
housing	1326	1066	961	846
fuel, electricity, heat	252	245	205	221
personal hygiene and health care	400	311	224	197
culture, education, upbringing, sports and vacations	1641	1059	682	582
transportation and communications	1200	740	412	319
in percent				
Expenses including:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
food	39.1	43.8	48.1	51.0
alcohol	2.5	3.0	3.5	3.6
tobacco	1.4	1.7	2.0	2.1
shoes and clothing	12.5	13.1	13.4	13.2
housing	11.4	11.1	11.9	10.7
fuel, electricity, heat	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.8
personal hygiene and health care	3.4	3.2	2.8	2.5
culture, education, upbringing, sports and vacations	14.1	11.1	8.4	7.3
transportation and communications	10.3	7.7	5.1	4.0
Indicator -- households of persons with higher educations = 100				
Total	100.0	82.9	69.7	67.4
Expenses including:	100.0	83.1	69.9	68.3
food	100.0	93.1	86.0	89.2
alcohol	100.0	101.0	96.9	99.0
tobacco	100.0	103.1	101.2	102.5
shoes and clothing	100.0	87.2	74.9	72.6
housing	100.0	80.4	72.5	63.8
fuel, electricity, heat	100.0	97.2	81.3	87.7
personal hygiene and health care	100.0	77.8	56.0	49.3
culture, education, upbringing, sports and vacations	100.0	65.1	41.6	35.5
transportation and communications	100.0	61.7	34.3	26.6

Table 5. Average monthly per capita household consumption of selected food articles according to the level of education of the head of household.

Specification	Unit	Higher	Secondary	Primary vocational	Primary
Bakery goods	kg	6.22	6.81	7.47	8.74
Potatoes	kg	6.24	7.29	7.99	9.25
Vegetables and mushrooms	kg	5.24	5.23	4.85	5.27
Fruit	kg	4.17	3.47	2.97	2.98
Meat and meat products	kg	4.04	4.34	4.31	4.78
Fish and products	kg	0.54	0.56	0.57	0.55
Fats	kg	1.30	1.31	1.32	1.39
including butter	kg	0.70	0.67	0.63	0.63
Eggs	#	18.17	17.67	15.99	17.33
Milk and milk drinks	l	8.48	8.31	8.44	9.82
Cheeses	kg	1.15	0.95	0.78	0.83

Table 6. Household equipment of appliances according to level of education

Specification	Units per 100 households			
	Higher	Secondary	Primary vocational	Primary
Black-and-white televisions	83.2	87.8	92.7	96.5
Color televisions	33.8	23.6	16.3	8.9
Table radios	81.5	81.9	79.2	77.3
Portable radios	77.5	66.7	60.6	53.6
Stereos	37.7	22.1	16.1	14.2
Tape recorders	79.8	68.7	61.8	47.2
Photographic equipment	67.5	45.8	30.6	20.6
Film cameras	4.0	1.4	0.7	0.1
Pianos	8.7	2.3	1.0	0.8
Electrical washers	53.3	72.4	85.4	93.4
Automatic washers	65.9	45.0	29.0	14.1
Vacuum cleaners	99.2	97.2	93.0	85.0
Refrigerators, freezers	103.0	101.1	101.2	98.7
Sewing machines:				
electrical	44.7	34.7	27.6	20.7
manual	13.9	17.6	20.8	28.3
Bicycles	72.8	73.7	82.0	76.6
Motorcycles, scooters	5.9	8.6	13.3	14.7
Private automobiles	54.2	33.5	21.8	14.1
Summer houses	2.6	0.7	0.1	0.1
Recreational boats	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.0

12261

CSO: 2600/1083

IMPORTANCE OF BARTER TRANSACTIONS IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE

Bucharest REVISTA ECONOMICA in Romanian No 18, 30 Apr 86; No 22, 30 May 86

[Article by Ioan Popa: "Countertrade Operations--a Dynamic Component of International Trade"]

[30 Apr 86 pp 26-27]

[Text] Countertrade operations, including a great variety of concrete forms of execution, have experienced remarkable expansion in recent years. Depending on how they are defined, as operations of exchange of goods and services between two partners in different countries, with importation being conditional on exportation, or as all of the arrangements through which bilateral coordination of the reciprocal flows is established, including within complex actions of industrial cooperation, it can be calculated that they now constitute between 5 and 30 percent of world trade. Apart from the positive or negative influences of the international economic situation, countertrade operations have turned out to be viable forms of international economic relations, and their potential for growth remains significant.

Promoting Factors

A number of factors promoting countertrade operations that operate throughout the world economic circuit or in certain directions of it have been made timely by the economic crisis and the uncertainties that now characterize the world economy. Thus, the difficulties encountered by many countries, especially the developing ones, in meeting the payments on current loans, as a result of the foreign debt's impact on their valuta reserves, have made commercial arrangements based on compensation and countertrade very attractive.

A recent UNCTAD study concerning the experience of the countries in Latin America in this field (Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay) states, for example, that 54 percent of the countertrade deals in 1983-1984 were made for the importation of oil (document UNCTAD/ST/ECDC/27), a product that, in general, has been the basis for many compensation arrangements after 1980. Although, with the drop in the price of crude oil, one notes a tendency of these operations to decline, compensation remains an important component on the oil market. Iraq still gives priority to countertrade operations, meeting through oil exportation the payment for servicing the foreign debt (to Italy); it recently

concluded with Canada a similar arrangement regarding the exportation of 50,000 barrels per day for a period of 3 years.

The continued interest in countertrade operations shows that they respond to deeper economic reasons than mere pressure of circumstances. Many developing countries see in these operations ways to promote exportation, to reach new segments of the foreign market, to which access is limited due to the restrictive trade-policy measures imposed by the developed capitalist countries or due to the absence of a suitable marketing and merchandising system of the exporting country. In this way, it is possible to provide a balance at a higher level between importation and exportation, overcoming the limitations introduced by the existence and growth of trade deficits in the development of international economic exchanges, particularly in a North-South direction. In 1982, for example, Indonesia established by law the obligation that all government purchases that exceed a certain value be offset in full with domestic products other than oil and natural gas. As the experience of the Latin American countries shows, one sees the tendency to promote nontraditional products for exportation, particularly industrial ones, to diversify the assortment of the deliveries, and to orient them toward markets that may be inaccessible under other conditions. Thus, in the last 2 years, through countertrade operations, Brazil has become the fifth-leading exporter on Nigeria's market; in return for oil importation, it furnishes a wide range of products, including motor vehicles, synthetic fibers, fireproof bricks, steel, etc. As a matter of fact, this country has met most of its need for imported energy in this way, in deals with Algeria, Angola, Iraq, and the Soviet Union.

A special role goes to countertrade operations, viewed in a broad sense, in stimulating the production activities in the developing countries and in carrying out national investment programs of great scope. As the specialized literature shows, they represent a suitable way to finance industrial-cooperation projects, to achieve big production facilities. This is the case especially of cooperation in the form of the delivery of tools, installations, and equipment on long-term credit, which is to be paid back by the recipient, the owner of the facility achieved in this way, through the resulting products or other domestic products. The special attraction of this form of cooperation, to defining and promoting which our country has made a widely recognized contribution, lies in the fact that the means for paying back the credit are provided mainly through its utilization for purposes of production. At the same time, in this case, in contrast with conventional compensation, the specific elements of industrial cooperation appear: the long duration of the action, the creditor's participation in achieving the facility through financial and technical assistance, and the support of international financial bodies.

The exporter of installations often involves third-party firms in the respective contracts as cosuppliers or subsuppliers, with actions of tripartite cooperation thus being achieved. The UNCTAD experts point to the special role of this form of cooperation in stimulating the process of industrialization in the developing countries as a better way than the conventional importation of capital (document TD/B/1,000).

Our country is one of the promoters of actions of industrial cooperation, including tripartite cooperation, in Third World countries; big projects for

developing the economic infrastructure in Bangladesh, Mauritania, the Central African Republic, Sri Lanka, and Sudan have been carried out on this basis. Large-scale actions, highly appreciated by the foreign partners, have been initiated in the fields in which Romania has a big technological lead: the construction of refineries (Syria and Iran), of sulfuric acid plants (Egypt), cement plants (Iraq and Egypt), etc.

Mutual Advantages

The high degree of personal interest that countertrade operations involve, the fact that they provide advantages equally for the exporter as well as the importer, for the creditor as well as the recipient, represents one of the major reasons for their expansion, especially those carried out in the context of actions of industrial cooperation.

While the developing countries can, in this way, have easier access to modern technology and secure the development of balanced and stable trade relations with partners in the developed countries, the advantages for the latter are no less important. Thus, countertrade is now a chief factor in expansion of the market, permitting the sale of pieces of equipment in big lots, to which are added, in the case of industrial processes, a number of connected deliveries for a long period (licenses, know-how, technical assistance, subassemblies, spare parts, etc.). On the other hand, in this way, new conditions are created for supplying goods of great economic significance, such as primary industrial products, subassemblies, and components obtained from third parties on more favorable terms of cost, and some hard goods characterized by a high demand on the world market.

The interest that these operations arouse in the developed countries is demonstrated by the more and more marked involvement of big Western firms in countertrade deals. A study prepared recently by the U.S. International Trade Commission, on the basis of a survey among over 500 corporations, states that, in the 1980-1984 period, the volume of these operations rose fourfold in relations with countries in Europe and more than threefold with countries in Asia; in 1985, the value of the exports of goods and services achieved by the United States involving countertrade operations reached \$4.6 billion. According to some estimates, countertrade now provides about 10 percent of the income of American producing firms, and in the next 10 years, this percentage could reach one-third (FINANCIAL TIMES, 11 February 86, p 18).

In some developed capitalist countries, especially in Western Europe and Japan, steps are taken to promote countertrade operations, to help the domestic firms that are involved in such deals, by granting loans and export subsidies, guarantees, tax breaks, etc. For example, in 1981, the French Government opened for India a line of credit for an aluminum complex, of whose production a certain share will be delivered to France. The Japan Industrial Cooperation Agency grants loans for industrial projects initiated abroad by Japanese firms with the host country's participation. A number of state or joint organizations that are concerned with supporting and promoting these exchanges (ACECO in France, SUKAB in Sweden, Evidenzburo in Austria) have been set up for the same purpose and the network of firms specializing as middlemen in compensation and parallel operations (brokers) has been developed strongly.

Countertrade operations have undergone remarkable development in East-West relations, turning out to be means of mutually advantageous utilization of the technical and economic complementarities between the socialist countries and the developed capitalist countries, a factor in overcoming trade-policy obstacles and in securing steady and balanced commercial and financial flows. Many actions involve the execution of industrial projects in socialist countries through the purchase of Western technology with payment in resulting products (buy-back). Thus, for example, the Steiger firm in the United States sold to Hungary technology and equipment for the production of tractors, receiving in return certain components of the products made by the Hungarian partner. Within the actions of Romanian-British cooperation in the manufacture of the ROMBAC 1-11 airplane, it was recently agreed that the British Aerospace firm would place orders in our country for spare parts and components for BAC airplanes as part of the obligations assumed by the British partner.

The connected purchases (counterpurchases) permit, in addition to the acquisition of advanced technology, the promotion of industrial exports from the socialist countries, the improvement of the distribution relations, and the development of cooperation in marketing, merchandising, and services. Thus, Poland is showing interest in the construction of a network of hotels in the country, through cooperation between the Austrian Warimpex Handels A.G. firm and Orbis, the Polish Office of Tourism; the construction and the acquisition of the necessary equipment will be financed by the Austrian firm, while Orbis will concern itself with administration, the loans being paid back from the receipts in foreign currency (REVUE DE L'ECONOMIE POLONAISE, 4, 1986).

Romania has extensive experience in this kind of operation, with important economic facilities being achieved in the country on this basis: the arrangement of the Sadova-Corabia perimeter for irrigation in cooperation with an English firm, the nuclear power project in cooperation with Canadian firms, the execution and development of tourist facilities in cooperation with American and West German firms, etc.

The execution of large-scale actions, based on compensation, to utilize natural resources turns out to be an attractive form of industrial cooperation with big possibilities of development. Such a proposal on cooperation was made recently by the USSR to some Nordic countries (Finland and Norway), for the exploitation of raw materials on the Kola Peninsula; the utilization of the apatite deposits for production can lead both to the growth of the exports of the respective countries (pieces of equipment, technology, services) and to the meeting of these countries' need for raw materials on a stable and long-term basis (COMMERCE EXTERIEUR-USSR, No 12, 1985, and No 1, 1986).

[30 May 86 pp 27-28]

[Text] The potential advantages of countertrade operations are turned into fair results, into real earnings for both partners, only when a strict contractual framework is provided, when mutually advantageous commercial and financial mechanisms of cooperation are used.

Efficiency--an Essential Criterion

International practice shows that the Western firms, the big corporations, sometimes have the tendency to shift most of the operation's costs and risks to the weaker partner, to distort the compensatory contractual mechanism, in order to serve interests of their own with an abusive character. Such a situation arises when the exporter refuses unjustifiably to take the countertrade goods from the partner who did the importation, preferring to pay the penalties for not fulfilling the contract; in practice, however, these penalties are borne from the margin that the exporter includes in the price of his deliveries. In other words, the acceptance of countertrade by the exporter is purely formal, the only intended goal being to sell the pieces of equipment to the importing country, while eventually benefiting also from the more favorable conditions that the state in question institutes for the respective operations. In order to counteract such practices, a penalty figure, which can go from 10-15 percent of the contract's value to 50 percent (in Indonesia), has been set by law in many countries. When the exporter is not interested in the products offered in compensation, the involvement of a third party in the deal, who accepts these products and pays the initial exporter, can be convenient (triangular compensation). In this case, however, extra costs arise in connection with prospecting the market, negotiating and concluding the deal, and, if need be, using a broker (the banks or commercial firms charge commissions between 0.5 and 20 percent of the volume of the deal). As in any business deal, it is thus necessary to thoroughly substantiate the operation from an economic angle, to put at the basis of the deal a sensible analysis of the effects and efforts, of the profit-cost relationship.

The tendency to unbalance the terms of trade, under the dual pressure of the negotiating power of the partners and the price fluctuations on the world market, is a major problem in countertrade operations. Thus, Western firms often request big price cuts (5-30 percent) for the goods taken in countertrade, explaining that the sale of them presupposes the utilization of a specialized third party (broker) and entails a high business risk. In addition, the price changes on the foreign market are reflected differently on the two partners, usually to the detriment of the firms in the developing countries exporting primary products or ones with a low degree of processing, whose price on the foreign market has had a marked tendency to drop for a long time. This is why the strict setting of the prices for the two lots of goods on economic bases, taking into account their value as well as their economic importance, the combating of the tendency of some firms, especially the transnational companies, to impose exclusive prices on deliveries of technology, and the insertion of clauses protecting against the price risk into the contracts are essential conditions so that these deals may have a mutually advantageous character.

In context, one important requirement is to correlate the import price with the export price, so that a change in one of the elements may be reflected accordingly in the other element, with fair terms of trade being maintained. Another requirement refers to the necessity of combating a tendency toward structural imbalance in the flows of goods between the two partners: Western firms often request as a priority that the compensation for the technology delivered be hard goods, basic products or exchange products, or intermediate

industrial products. This leads to the accentuation of the asymmetry between the exports and imports of the developing countries and preserves or even intensifies the polarized character of the international division of labor in a North-South direction. However, these operations must promote precisely the process of industrialization in the Third World, must lead to growth in the access of the developing countries to the Western market for manufactured goods, especially those with a high technological level. Of course, this presupposes more constant concern by the producers in the developing countries for achieving competitive industrial goods, adapted to the quality requirements of the foreign market, and for developing the activity of marketing and the merchandising networks.

The Promotion of International Economic Exchanges

Countertrade operations must not be viewed as a way to replace traditional trade exchanges, to undermine or limit them; the utilization of their advantages is connected precisely with the degree to which they provide for the steady development of economic exchanges between countries and the placing of them on fair, mutually advantageous, and balanced bases. It is significant that, in 1972, only 15 countries regularly utilized such operations, but in 1983, the number of participants had risen to nearly 90; according to UN data, only 30 member states did not practice countertrade in 1984.

The role of stimulating international economic flows follows clearly if we refer to the long experience of the socialist countries in utilizing bilateral mechanisms of a clearing or barter type. In the last period, a complex form of cooperation involving compensation operations gained special priority in the relations between the CEMA-member socialist countries: participation in the exploitation and processing of raw materials or energy resources from a certain country, with countertrade deliveries of raw materials, supplies, and energy. Thus, to promote Soviet fuel deliveries to Bulgaria, this country will participate--in conformity with the Long-Term Program for Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, signed in 1985--in the construction of pipelines and industrial units in the field of petroleum on the territory of the USSR. In a similar framework, Hungary is participating in the creation of capacities in the extractive industry in the Soviet Union and provides the delivery of industrial machines and equipment and consumer goods in exchange for Soviet deliveries of energy and basic products.

Complex actions of long-term collaboration in the field of energy, fuel, and raw materials are also in view in other socialist countries: the joint use of coal deposits and the modernization of the coke-chemical industry in the Polish People's Republic; the creation of capacities for the extraction and processing of magnesite in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; collaboration in the utilization of nonferrous metal deposits in the Republic of Cuba, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; etc.

Since last December, in conformity with the agreements reached, our country has been participating in actions of cooperation in the USSR, such as the asbestos-producing combine at Kiembai, the pulp plant at Ust-Ilim, and the exploitation of deposits of compressed gas at Orenburg. In return for this

participation, Romania receives raw materials, ferroalloys, pulp, asbestos, methane gas, and others.

A large volume of the trade exchanges between the socialist countries and the developing countries occur within the framework of clearing agreements, based most of the time on trade agreements and agreements on international economic cooperation. In addition to overcoming the difficulties connected with payment in convertible valuta, they stimulate reciprocal exports and imports, through the concern of the parties for ensuring the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the volumes arranged in the intergovernmental protocols, orient the partners toward the priority execution of actions of cooperation in production, and give a balanced and lasting character to mutual relations.

In fact, in recent years, the practice of concluding bilateral agreements and protocols on parallel and barter operations has grown considerably in all directions of international economic relations. In such a framework, Japanese firms are building a number of industrial complexes in countries in the Middle East, with their deliveries of equipment and technology being offset with oil imports. Brazil imports from Romania and Hungary oil installations, subassemblies and parts, and technical documentation in return for the delivery of domestic products. Finland has clearing agreements concluded with some socialist countries (the RPB [People's Republic of Bulgaria], the CSSR, the GDR, the USSR) by means of which all of the reciprocal exchanges are carried out. At the same time, compensation turns out to be an advantageous way to expand and diversify imports in close connection with the promotion of foreign sales, to improve the supply on the domestic market, and to strengthen the ties between the commercial firms in different countries, especially on a regional level.

The expansion of countertrade operations is the expression of the new trends that now characterize the world economic circuit: the diversification of the forms in which economic exchanges are carried out and the more and more marked transition from traditional commercial operations to forms of industrial cooperation. At the same time, countertrade is connected with the state's involvement in regulating and carrying out foreign deals, with the growing role of state bodies in international trade. It is significant that in the case of the countries in Latin America, analyzed in the above-mentioned UNCTAD study, the imports achieved by government agencies represent at least 60 percent of the total countertrade operations.

At the same time, the possibilities of making the deals many sided, of involving new partners in triangular operations, gives to countertrade a more flexible character and new possibilities of development. It is being combined more and more with the other forms of activity in the world economic circuit and is involved in complex commercial and cooperation actions.

A more and more important component of the firms' business strategy and the states' policy of promoting foreign exchanges, countertrade--carried out in conformity with the general requirements for the wide promotion of exchanges between nations--can constitute an effective instrument for placing international economic relations on new bases under the conditions of the current difficulties in the world economy.

AGENDA, EQUIPMENT OF BIOCHEMICAL WARFARE RESEARCH UNIT

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by Second Lieutenant Slawomir Orlowski: "Bacteria are the Enemy"]

[Text] Combat toxic agents, sometimes called the silent killers, kill and incapacitate by their effects; they terrify us because of the threat of silent action and its effects which ultimately destroy the organism. The continued increases of these weapons in the arsenals of the NATO states has forced us to defend ourselves against the possible employment of combat toxic agents.

The Military Scientific Research Center of the Veterinary Service, headed by Lieutenant Colonel Doctor Michal Bartoszcze, has been working now for many years on ways of combating these toxic agents; he is also interested in other fields of microbiology. The center, one of few such in our Armed Forces, conducts comprehensive research projects on the threats posed by microbiology to the battlefield of the future. The attempts to combat these agents include quick and effective methods for detecting gangrene, caused by certain bullet wounds, toxoplasma, rabies and jaundice. Additionally, diagnostic tests using enzymes (such as immuno-enzymatic) can be employed in peacetime extensively. The speed in detecting the threat and specifying future effects is decisively important from the perspective of either preventing or controlling the spread of many diseases.

Research efforts, conducted since the beginning of the 1980s, have produced positive results. The methods which have been developed and applied, largely in our own facilities, have sped up considerably the detection of viruses harmful to the organism. Previously, an observation period of several days was necessary for detection; now, diagnosis can be effected after only a few hours.

Another accomplishment of our scientists in military uniforms is the considerable reduction in the research preparations needed to facilitate the rapid growth of bacteria cultures: from three days to three hours. The speed in uncovering the causes of disease is decisively important in the fight against it. The viriological diagnostics today looks like something out of the 21st century.

Many of the impressive advances in the field of microbiology have been made possible thanks to the team efforts of highly qualified scientists and the utilization of research equipment built with the most modern technology. Recently, we acquired an ELISA spectrophotometer which works together with a computer. It permits us to automatically analyze research results and present a finished product rapidly; it also makes any corrections necessary during its analysis. Looking at organisms invisible to the naked eye on a daily basis also requires an electron microscope which enlarges objects up to 100,000 times.

It is difficult to characterize, even briefly, the latest food, chemical and radiometri research instruments being used in the research facilities; they are providing military scientists extensive possibilities. Thanks to these possibilities, we have set up a center which has become the country's best in the field. As Lieutenant Colonel Doctor Michal Bartoszcze states: "Together with my colleagues, we are implementing a program which will be of great benefit to the military and satisfaction to us."

Along with these most modern and complex research projects we are conducting simple experiments as well. These experiments have their own distinct advantage, inasmuch as they can be utilized directly under battlefield conditions. The detection of combat toxic agents and other microbiological threats permits the immediate liquidation of the sources of the contamination. Such simplified methods permit their extensive dissemination and the creation of a whole network of laboratories moving forward with frontline detachments.

The team's scientific advances speak for themselves. Several times now, team members have been awarded high decorations in the field of military medicine by the minister of national defense; they are the authors of numerous works and practical applications. Currently, Lieutenant Colonel Doctor Tadeusz Lis is working on the problems of food contaminated with combat toxic agents, while Major Doctor Jan Dabrowski is conducting research into microorganisms which cause food poisoning.

Close cooperation with civilian scientific centers has been fruitful, with four scientific conferences resulting. More than 80 scientific works have been published both at home and abroad. Their scope also presents a unique profile of who's who in Poland's geographic-veterinary activity. Many specialists of the veterinary service train at our center.

12247/12795

CSO: 2600/574

BOGOMOLOV, OTHERS WORK ON UN 'FUTURE OF EAST EUROPE' STUDY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Jul 86 p 5

[Interview with Prof Pawel Bozyk, coordinator of the U.N. East Europe Study by Pawel Tarnowski]

[Text] [Question] The world is inundated with a variety of prognoses and studies, some right; others wrong. Large firms and well-known scientific institutes from one end of the world to the other do nothing but make attempts at predicting the future. Generally, they reap good profits from this and succeed in frightening the average person. Is it worthwhile to duplicate this scheme and prepare yet another voluminous study from which little will result?

[Answer] Such an opinion on the subject of the value of predictive studies appears to me to be unfair. After all, an accurate appraisal of the future development of events allows for the avoidance of numerous mistakes, and to defy the dangers which are not always obvious. The fact that it is difficult to be precise is another matter. In any case, this is definitely not a reason to abandon subsequent and insofar as the U.N. study is concerned, original studies. This is not solely my opinion.

[Question] The international program which you will coordinate has been promisingly entitled, "Eastern Europe's Answer to Changes in Today's World." Can it be that on our part of the continent we are actually preparing a forceful retort toward, for example, the incredible technological and technical advancement on our planet? Perhaps we have another ace up our sleeve?

[Answer] Despite what you suggest, the name of the program does not overstate anything. This would be like dividing up the bearskin while the bear is still alive. The goal of the studies already initiated concerns the appraisal of political, social, economic, and technical changes, changes in systems of management, and in methods used for environmental protection, taking place in the socialist countries against a background of change taking place in the modern-day world. In every one of the aforementioned instances we must achieve a global outlook, from the point of view of looking at the world as a whole, as regions, and finally from the point of view of the socialist countries. We are hopeful that we will succeed in emphasizing the pluses and minuses of the transformations taking place in Eastern Europe as well as in the surrounding area; to demonstrate the differences occurring in the development process of nations belonging to the socialist community.

[Question] Is this not perhaps a duplication of part of the work of the Brandt Commission, the Palme Commission, as well as the duplication of the Rome Club which has already presented many prognoses on the subject of the future of the world and its regions?

[Answer] I am certain that this is not so. The U.N. study, which we have started to work upon, even if only for the research proposals adopted and the support of the U.N. should be rid of political growth which has quite unsuccessfully influenced the cognitive value of certain formerly developed studies. I am hopeful that the results will be more objective than those of other studies prepared on similar subjects which were incongruous in their fragmentation and were tainted by national opinions.

[Question] How do you plan to achieve this?

[Answer] The research will be carried out in three topical groups. The first group will concern itself with the processes of adapting true socialism to modern-day challenges, the issue of democratization of life in the socialist nations, changes in concepts concerning economic development, administration, and public policy.

The second will concentrate its attention upon purely economic problems, and will examine the progress achieved in the restructuring of industry, technological adaptation, and in the area of environmental protection. The third will study the issue of the evolution of the model and mechanism of joint co-operation among the CEMA nations, and will evaluate East-West and East-South relations.

A total of 20 researchers from the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, East Germany, and Bulgaria will participate in the research work. Economic issues will be coordinated by Dr Mihaly Simai, deputy director of the Institute of World Economics in Budapest. At the same time, research with regard to opening up the socialist nations to the world will be coordinated by Prof Oleg T. Bogomolov, director of the Institute of World Economics for the Socialist System of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

[Question] Will this suffice in achieving the much-desired objectivity?

[Answer] Similar research, in this case concerning the future of Western Europe will be conducted simultaneously by a group of researchers from capitalist nations. Following completion in 1987, the integration of the research, the collation of results, and perhaps achievement of a common response to the question of where Europe is headed is being predicted.

[Question] Are there no misgivings that the use of distinct research methodology and a different world outlook will not allow you to coordinate your conclusions?

[Answer] We certainly will not come up with a joint document. In addition, in this case we are not interested in this. If we can succeed in just conveying the different opinions, providing better information and at least bringing the various points of view closer together, already this will represent success.

In the West, the problems of Eastern Europe are currently perceived in an established pattern and a simplified manner. Factual information is replaced by political rhetoric. Our ambition is to produce an entirely scholarly and possibly objective study. It will be all the more valuable in that at last it will discuss Europe as a whole, and the socialist countries will be taken fully into consideration. I hope that this will result not only in a unique scholarly study but also a rather good informative and predicative document for the economic and political activists both in the East and West which awakens their imagination and will constitute the basis for undertaking sound decisions, and also based upon global and long-term criteria. It is another question whether they will want to make use of it.

[Question] The scope of the anticipated research appears enormous. Can such a small group of individuals having at their disposal hardly any resources be capable of managing the entire task?

[Answer] The group's task is not only to work on specific analyses, but also to carry out the synthesis of already existing and available material and the extraction of suitable conclusions and presentation of complete concepts. Therefore, individuals well-versed in the realities of the world, and rich in knowledge have also been invited to participate, and in case of need obtain the support of scientific institutions which they are ordinarily in charge of. In this situation, the group's self-effacing nature is not and will not present an obstacle.

[Question] In your opinion, what was the reason behind why a Pole was selected as coordinator of the U.N. study?

[Answer] Above all, I believe that the scholarly achievement of our nation in this field was decisive. Two years ago, the Main School of Planning and Statistics hosted a big conference organized under the auspices of the U.N. and dedicated to Europe's future. There was also much discussion concerning this subject at the Warsaw Intellectualists' Congress. Most certainly, the Polish peace initiatives in Europe were not forgotten. Therefore, there are many possible reasons. Now, nothing else remains but the realization of our plans.

12229/12859
CSO: 2600/588

THEORETICAL CONFERENCE REJECTS DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM, PARTY ROLE

Budapest POLITIKA TUDOMANY in Hungarian No 3/4, 1985 pp 146-154

[Co-summary of national theoretical conference entitled "The Situation of Party Democracy and Tasks for its Development," given by Karoly Lipkovics, Deputy Rector of the MSZMP Political College, and held 21-22 November 1985: "Several Questions About the Development of Party Democracy Within the Communist Movement"]

[Text] During the course of its eventful history, the revolutionary workers' movement has gained a variety of experiences in applying democracy both within the parties and in inter-party contacts. Even its current practice reveals a rich and varied selection of solutions. The events of the success-rich, though occasionally troubled past and those of the present document that, /one way or the other, the consistent application of democracy has always played an important and at times decisive role in the successes of communism; at the same time, the neglect or even absence of democracy was most frequently a co-symptom or even cause for our difficulties, problems, and inter-party conflicts/.

I

In recent times communist parties have been faced with an increasing number of problems awaiting solution. In our effort to answer these challenges, there is a growing demand in the intellectual life of our party to further modernize our concept of democracy, to develop it on the basis of historical experience but in a manner that is closely related to today's realities. This positive effort can be constructively influenced by a suitable knowledge of our past, evaluation of the party's eventful history on the basis of most recent research results, and the resulting consistent application of the principle of historicity.

If we examine our past and within it the process of applying democratic principles, in this manner then it becomes evident that our movement achieved the greatest development in this respect when it considered democracy within the framework of basic Marxist-Leninist theses and the given level of the communist parties' development. In other words, when it sought answers to the questions: /"Which are the leadership forms that contribute most effectively to the solution of problems faced by the communist parties? How is it

possible to synchronize the level of development within the revolutionary forces and the given level of democracy?" / Experience shows that in attempting to solve this problem, the context and forms of democracy have constantly been changing and have manifested themselves in various ways, in accordance with the development of the communist parties' practices. In the meanwhile, the democracy-concept of the communist movement has not remained constant either, but in accordance with the dialectical unity of theory and practice, it has continued to develop through the utilization of cumulative experiences. This also means that /in our movement there is no permanently accepted model, an eternal formula independent of place or time, for the application of democracy and that--even while preserving the solidity and stability of its internal structure--Marxism's democracy-theory undergoes significant changes according to the requirements of given development periods/.

Examining the early stages in the development of communist parties in this light, we can observe, first of all, that from its beginning our movement has been thoroughly saturated by the ideals of democracy. Even at its birth, the Third International, the first global organization of communist parties, declared democracy to be an important basic principle of its operations. The communist leaders of the time relied on the democracy-concepts of Marx and Engels, the positive experiences of the socialist movements, and especially on the practice of the Russian Bolsheviks and the views of Lenin. Democracy accompanied the activities of the Communist International and--aside from the periods of aberration--became a part of its organization; it was organically integrated with the activities of the communist movement, in accordance with the given development level of communist parties.

Democracy was an indispensable element in the political practice of the communist parties at the time of their birth and consolidation, but at the time all segments of the movement were still tied to a strongly centralizing tendency. This was primarily manifested by the fact that every level of the operational mechanism of the Comintern, as a unique "global party," was governed by the principle of democratic centralism. /During these early phases in the life of our movement, democratic centralism was viewed as a global, all-inclusive principle that strictly regulated not only the internal life of given communist parties but also their relations with each other./ As a "global party," the Communist International had respected central leadership bodies; its activities were dominated by the central considerations of the organization, and national or regional interests and considerations were always subjugated to international ones. The communist organizations operating in the various regions and countries were sections of the Comintern; they depended on it in ideological, political, and organizational questions, and their activities were basically regulated by the decisions and policies of higher organs. In addition, the work of the entire organization was subject to the leading role of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Soviet Union, as the party with the largest membership and the greatest experience.

Today, when there is a steadily growing interest in the history of the communist movement, when the political and ideological conditions for the realistic presentation of this history are improving, or so we hope, it is certain that the leadership mechanism of the Comintern will be presented in a

more discerning light. In the meanwhile, however, we must refrain from making unhistorical comparisons and from projecting today's solutions into the past. We must take into consideration that the all-inclusive, global application of the principle of democratic centralism was in accordance with the historical conditions that prevailed during the early phases of the history of the communist movement. (It is quite another issue that the practice of the period, especially during the 1930s, also resulted in grave aberrations, showdowns that caused great injuries and the unproductive, forced implementation of monolithic rule.) We must not forget that most of the communist parties were organized around that time and that the movement was still in its childhood. We must also remember that, due to the overwhelming power of imperialism, the communist movement was facing great pressure. Under the given conditions, the Communist International, with its unique leadership mechanism, significantly contributed to the strengthening of the communist parties, the development of a communist world movement, the dissemination of experiences, and the stabilization and development of the parties. We must further study the rich history of the Comintern, garnering from it the experiences that are still useful but also realizing all the while that the contemporary practices of ideological, political, and administrative leadership--based as they were on the principle of democratic centralism--as well as the contemporary interpretation of the relationship between national and international interests in the theory and practice of the communist parties, or the ideal of a supreme party, were the peculiar by-products of the time and are not adaptable to present conditions.

II

The dissolution of the Comintern, which was primarily called for by the development process within the communist movement, but which was also dictated by the situation that surfaced after the Second World War, created a new and relatively length transition in the communist movement, opening new opportunities for the manifestation of democratic principles. Accordingly, there began the application of democracy-conceptions, cooperation theories and forms that were suited to the more mature developmental level of the communist movement. To be sure, there were detours and retreats in this process: let us consider, for example, cases such as the activities of the Comintern and the "cultural revolution" in China. On the other hand, a great step forward was made during the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the decisions of which provided new stimulus for the application of democracy in the life of the communist parties and in their inter-party cooperation. In order to promote unified action by the various parties, world and regional conferences of communist parties were held, where attempts were made to work on important strategic issues. During the past three or four decades the communist parties have reached a point of crystallization that expresses the higher level of the movement's maturity. This was succinctly stated by the conference of the European communist parties, held in Berlin in 1976: /The communist movement can no longer afford to have an ideological, political and administrative center, just as it can no longer have a leading party, and calls for the common development of communist strategies are also anachronistic. At the current, higher level of development, the applicability of democratic centralism within the communist movement has been narrowed and limited to the internal life of the individual parties. Communist parties are

responsible for their political activities to their own peoples. (At the same time, in view of the fact that their achievements or failures influence the situation of the other communist parties, they are morally responsible to the entire movement.) Under today's conditions, inter-party relationships should be based on the principles of sovereignty, independence, and international solidarity, and the unity of the movement could be assured by the effective, constructive basic principles of Marxism, as well as the identity of great goals for peace and revolution, and the actions based on these principles./

If we examine the current situation, ideological position, political practices, and international relations of the communist parties from the point of view of the application of democratic principles, we can justifiably state that in this respect, too, the communist movement is in a period of re-orientation. We can also sense that democracy has an increasing role in the life of our movement during this transition. Even though there still exist, and occasionally even re-surface, anti-democratic trends in our ranks, even though at times we witness mistaken moves toward bourgeois liberalism, and even though frequently the development of certain parties does not utilize the opportunities offered by the given situation, the main trend still points to the strengthening of democracy. /Most of the parties are seeking those modern democratic forms that suit the new demands arising from changes in the global situation, the internal development of individual countries, the great processes of socio-economic transformations, and the newest trends in the scientific-technological revolution./ They are looking for new means and methods for further enlivening political life and increasing its effectiveness.

In the course of intensively studying this process, it has also become quite evident that, due to the divergence of situations, there are great and growing differences in how the various communist parties apply democratic forms; the situation in this area is colorful, multiform, and rich in divergence. Suffice it to mention the processes currently taking place within the communist party of the Soviet Union, the statements proposed by the newly structured proposed programs, the declarations made by the brotherly parties of the other socialist countries preparing for the congress, and the democratic efforts and theoretical experiences of the communist parties in Western Europe and the developing world, and we can state: /It can be observed in every sector of our movement that the main efforts for pro-democratic solutions are widely persistent, and when it comes to the application of democratic principles, we are witnessing the birth of a multiformity which is unmatched in the history of the communist movement./ The current practice and intellectual life of the communist and workers' parties unequivocally prove that even though democracy has generally applicable principles and norms, the history of the various regions, countries and peoples, their economic, political and cultural development, their customs, heritages, etc. bring new and unique elements into the practice of communist parties and exercise major influence over the democracy-concepts of these parties. /Resulting from the above, it is obvious that our task is to synthesize the generally applicable elements of the specific solutions and thus to enlarge and enrich the democracy-concept of Marxism-Leninism./

Treatment of historical experiences gained in applying democracy and of the problems coming to light in current practice is proceeding in many areas within the movement; there have been increasing efforts toward producing concrete results and assistance in accomplishing national tasks. Experience shows that activity of this type can also stimulate the work of the other communist parties, and the taking into account of domestic experiences and especially their theoretical generalization can contribute to the work of the entire communist movement. At the same time, it is increasingly disturbing that the process of developing a multiform, diverse, but in its basic principles more unified view of democracy, the creation of comprehensive, universally applicable theoretical democracy-syntheses--based on national and regional experiences and their summation, inspired by Marxism-Leninism--is evidently delayed. /We have every reason to state that there is a contradiction, or at least a significant phase delay, between the multiform practice of the communist parties in applying democracy and the international generalization of their experience in this area./ And this in spite of the fact that the creation of realistic theoretical summations--unified in spite of their differences and responding to questions of great impact related to democracy with valid answers that can be accepted by the majority and could contribute to the broader orientation of our movement--is evidently one of the most urgent tasks of Marxist-Leninist theory.

Undoubtedly the task of creating comprehensive theoretical syntheses is made more difficult by the originality and complexity of the situation as well as the division among the communist parties along several fault lines. We must emphasize, however, that any progress in this regard can be made only if inter-party relations continue to improve, to become more democratic, and if the communist movement can once and for all eliminate the trends which see the solubility of problems exclusively in criticizing faulty practices or practices that have been declared to be faulty, and in repeatedly recommending already established and institutionalized solutions. /Our movement must continue to strengthen those trends that place emphasis on the thorough and unbiased examination of debatable and problematic situations, and on the productive, democratic exchange of views between parties in the course of providing new answers suitable for new situations, and thus on the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory./ In order for the exchange of views serving the solution of theoretical problems to become more lively within the communist movement and for this exchange to bring the desired results, the view should once and for all become accepted within our movement, according to which the intellectual enriching of Marxism is the task of every communist party, and the correctness or incorrectness of new theoretical consequences can only be determined by practice. These are important conditions assuring that the theory of revolution develops in a suitable manner, that it fulfills its path-finding, guiding and orienting functions, and that the unrealistic, counter-progressive trends and the views belittling local, regional or shared interests are relegated to secondary positions within our movement.

/Under present conditions, the democracy-concept of the communist parties is strongly influenced by dynamically developing interest relationships that prevail throughout the entire communist movement. It is especially affected by those changes that took place in the interrelationship of national and international interests within the last few decades and that are still taking

place./ Judging from the developments in this sphere, the present and the future will be equally strongly influenced by the manner in which these interest relationships, the national, regional and comprehensive interests of the communist parties, will be structured in the thinking of the parties, how they relate to each other and what kind of consequences the parties will derive from this. Now, when the communist movement does not have a center or a leading party, thus it has no supra-party institution that performs the tasks of revealing, organizing and ranking the various interests so that they are acceptable and compulsory for all parties and determines how basic interests coincide and the manifestation of separate interests are related, it is still to be decided what is the best framework in which this problem could be effectively solved. It is precisely for this reason that currently we can only undertake to call attention to trends which, in our view, are positive and forward-looking, and whose further strengthening will serve the national interests of the communist parties, the regional interests of party groups, and the overall interests of the communist movement.

If we use today's realities in approaching these extraordinarily divergent, by and large new and sensitive problems, then our attention will be called to the fact that /the urgent conditions of the communist parties have become greatly differentiated during recent decades, and as a result of this, there has been a significant shift in the interest relations of the communist movement/. In the socialist countries which are at different levels of development, the communist parties use various methods, most frequently the deepening of socialist democracy, in order to promote the solution of problems faced by their societies. In capitalist Europe, on the North American continent, and in Japan, they are fighting for a more developed democracy and socialism while surrounded by developed industrial civilization and a relatively well-developed bourgeois democracy; and at the same time, in Asia, Africa and Latin America they are fighting for socio-economic progress in underdeveloped, often primitive conditions, using appropriate methods. As the role of local conditions in the struggle for gaining the support of the masses and for broadening the basis of the movement has evidently grown, communist parties everywhere are placing great emphasis on developing their local roots and are strengthening their international contacts on those bases. If they wish to realize their goals, they must first become strong in their own countries, they must enlist the support of their own masses, which can only be accomplished with policies that are revolutionary, democratic and take the interests of workers into full consideration. At the same time, current conditions also illustrate that local opportunities are greatly enhanced by strengthening solidarity with other revolutionary forces: the principle of internationalism has always been a characteristic of the communist movement, and it will retain its significance for the future. These tendencies, the new interrelationships between local and international situations, also indicate that during recent decades significant rearrangements have been taking place in the structure of national and international interests held by the communist parties: /The communist parties have reached a point when their national interests can no longer be subjugated to international ones, when the dialectic of relationships between the parties' national and international interests is also strongly influenced by regional interests, and the national and international components are represented in their activities as equal factors/. Thus it is very important for our movement to keep track of,

measure and consider the dynamic development and transformation of interest relationships, because only in this way can communist parties operate with full effectiveness, only in this way can they take full advantage of domestic resources and contacts with other revolutionary forces.

In order to make full use of the auxiliary resources offered by international solidarity and the cooperation of the communist parties, we urgently need to develop mechanisms--reflecting today's realities and based upon the national and international interests of the parties--which offer the framework for the synchronization of interests, the formulation of shared conceptions, and the promotion of coordinated action. Mechanisms suited to these demands have not yet been developed within our movement, they are still in the formative stage. It is self-evident, however, that /now--when the communist parties are independent, when they can develop their strategies and policies on the basis of their own national characteristics, creatively applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism--only those international mechanisms are likely to bring results that promote cooperation based upon the dialectics of equality and solidarity and assure the realistic synchronization of interests at the various levels/.

We must also consider that experiences gained from synchronizing interests within one party cannot be mechanically applied in the sphere of international cooperation. In the course of synchronizing within individual parties, that is, at the national level, an important role is played by the power centers ranking local and community interests, as well as by the application of the majority principle in the decisionmaking process. By contrast, in the communist movement, there is no such power center, there is neither the need nor the possibility for establishing such a center, and the principle of majority rule is not acceptable in ranking the various interests. /In developing mechanisms that would serve the effective cooperation of all communist parties, we must have the participation and creative contribution of all parties, since decisions in this area must be based on shared interests, consensus, and the principle of all-inclusiveness./ This is supported by the positive developments of the recent past, with bilateral meetings of the communist parties, conferences organized by parties from socialist countries, developed capitalist nations and the developing world with the aim of discussing and solving the common problems of a region, and by some of the declarations that have been issued during recent years in connection with the world congress of communist parties.

*

Although not always without difficulties, throughout its history the communist movement has always been able to find solutions suited to the new situations. This historical experience and especially the current strength and influence of the communist parties assure us that even in today's complex world our movement will find the road that is most favorable for the preservation of world peace and development of revolutions. However, we must act swiftly. The development of democracy on a national level as well as throughout the communist movement offers indispensable assistance in creating and applying new, modern, Marxist-Leninist-inspired conceptions.

12588

CSO: 2500/396

MARXIST-LENINIST TEACHING CALLED INEFFECTIVE, OUTDATED

Budapest IFJUKOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 4, 1986 pp 20-23

[Interview with Gyorgy Jozsa, chief of the Marxism-Leninism Department of the Ministry of Culture by Gyorgy Foris; date and place not specified]

[Text] Is it possible to educate the Marxist intelligentsia when the Marxist-Leninist courses at the universities and colleges such as philosophy, scientific socialism, and history of the Hungarian workers' movement are rated as some sort of necessary evil or obligatory course requirement? Is it possible to obtain the bases of ideological views if the students receive outstanding or good grades in these subjects with playful ease, while feeling that what they have read and heard is obsolete and in many instances untrue? Obviously not, and obviously the situation is ripe for change. These are the things we discussed with Gyorgy Jozsa, chief of the Marxism-Leninism Department of the Ministry of Culture.

[Question] More than 3 years ago, in 1982, the standpoint of the Agitation and Propaganda Committee of the Central Committee, following new social, political, and ideological needs, formulated the need for modernizing Marxist education in universities and colleges. This standpoint urged modifications in both the content and teaching methods of instruction. Where do we stand today in the renewal of instruction?

[Answer] The Agitation and Propaganda Committee deals periodically with the questions of Marxist education, its actual tasks. However, the August 1982 standpoint was far more significant than the usual perusal of this territory. On the basis of the 1981 decision of the Political Committee concerning the development of higher education, the mentioned standpoint of the Agitation and Propaganda Committee worked out the new concept of modernization of Marxist education according to the changing circumstances of our social development. The standpoint clearly and realistically determined the goals of university-college Marxist-Leninist instruction, as well as its connection to comparative education as well as to party-, that is other mass-organization forms. The standpoint clarified a whole string of real or pseudo problems related to Marxist education.

The standpoint of 1982 is the unambiguous and definite program for modernizing Marxist instruction; the real question for us today is how far have we been

able to progress in developing tasks stemming from the standpoint, how can we wrestle with circumstances that make it difficult to develop and raise levels?

The most important task of the development of Marxist instruction is the modernization of content. Instruction must first of all answer the most important questions of today's socialism and capitalism; it must lend theoretical and systematic bases to the students, the future intelligentsia of society, for solving the problems of our times with a Marxist view and socialist obligation. Of course here the frequently asked question of today is unavoidable: Is Marxist-Leninist theory capable of finding answers to the questions of today? It is my conviction that yes, if the "answer" is not measured by the momentary statistical condition of theoretical knowledge, but is rather understood as the developmental process of politics and knowledge. Because there has never been such a "condition," could never have been in the developmental history of Marxism, except perhaps in the dogmatic visions of its theory, when "ready" and "complete" answers existed for everything. By no means am I trying to say that there is no pause or delay in answering theoretical questions; instruction suffers greatly from the blank spaces in theoretical-scientific research as well as from its delayed or exaggerated answers. At the same time it may be that instruction does not use existing scientific results, or uses them very slowly.

In past years results that could not be underestimated were born in the modernization of instructional content. Discussed in broad professional circles, modern instructional subject programs were created in political economics, philosophy, scientific socialism, and sociology. The lecture notes used in Marxist instruction have always received much criticism. Of course lecture notes are by no means identical to instruction, but it still matters what kind of instructional aids the students receive. The lecture notes that are in circulation today, even if they receive numerous, legitimate professional or didactic criticism, far surpass earlier ones in level and method of discussion. I feel that Janos Kelemen's and Ferenc Lendvai's philosophy notes, Tamas Foldesi's dialectical materialism, Kalman Kulcsar's sociology notes, or the four-volume political economics text book created for the students of the economic university by the author's collective led by Kalman Szabo, will stand up to professional and student criticism.

Naturally the modernness, level, and persuasive power of Marxist instruction is dependent primarily on the instructors. In past years the majority of instructors have made significant efforts to increase their professional scientific preparedness; there is more active publication, more and more of them have scientific degrees. The professional-political public life of instructors has been enlivened, improved significantly, has come closer to the activities of the centers of continuing education for the real needs of instruction.

[Question] The standpoint of the Agitation and Propaganda Committee speeded the elaboration of the so-called concept of "integrated instruction." When, and in which institutions of higher learning will this be introduced?

[Answer] In the 3-year colleges where the number of Marxist courses is fewer than at the universities, the standpoint has initiated the development of a new course which discusses the most important economic, political, and philosophical problems of social development as a unit. Several work-groups were entrusted with the preparation of the program of "integrated" studies. And although the work-groups completed serious work, they were unable to create a plan for a truly mature, coherent program. At the same time it became an obstacle that our instructors were not prepared for this "novelty," and, due to the lack of appropriate professionals, we could not organize the continued education they needed to fulfill their new duties. Therefore the general introduction of "integrated Marxist education" will not be seen in the near future; this type of experimental instruction has been initiated in only two groups in each of two colleges.

The idea of "integrated instruction" was born from the experience that students master the materials of certain Marxist subjects without synthesizing these into a unified world-view or social comprehension. I think that from this point of view we were able to improve to a certain extent the world-view-forming effects of instruction, even without the introduction of the "integrated subject." That is, the programs of individual subjects were created in harmony, eliminating unnecessary overlapping, increasing the likelihood of being connected to each other and recognizing these connections. This effect is strengthened by special lectures in scientific branches studied by the students dealing with questions of theoretical world-view.

[Question] In harmony with the efforts to modernize content, is any kind of structural change being planned in Marxist instruction?

[Answer] The standpoint of the Agitation and Propaganda Committee is hurrying the construction of faculty instructional forms. The students themselves legitimately require the possibilities of greater choice among different subjects and special colleges. In past years we have made progress at the universities in this area as well; in most places the students may choose from among 30-60 courses. We do not plan a significant increase in time spent on faculty; there is no opportunity for this. That is, the number of hours of basic subjects (philosophy, political economics, scientific socialism) cannot be decreased any more; the seriousness of their teaching and their scientific basis would become questionable.

Since we are speaking of hours, let me add two more comments to this question. The number of hours of Marxist subjects decreased by about 30-35 percent at the end of the sixties, and can be considered low in international comparisons. However, social, economic, and political knowledge is indispensable to socialist intellectual activity. On the other hand, in the case of Marxist subjects, we cannot follow the road whereby the students appropriate knowledge and the instructors call on them to account for it. We are striving toward the possibility that that instruction will insure an open, honest exchange of ideas; however, this takes time.

Beginning in September of this year a significant change will go into effect in the ranks of Marxist subjects: instead of the history of the workers'

movement, we will begin to teach the History of Hungary 1918-1975 in every institute of higher education.

[Question] What is the purpose of this new subject and how were you able to prepare this instruction successfully?

[Answer] The introduction of the new history course is first of all justified by the fact that university-college students are not familiar enough with the history of the past decades, nor with the experiences of socialist construction in Hungary. This was pointed out with great emphasis at the 13th MSZMP Congress. At the same time, students are very interested in questions of our past; but this interest is at times only manifested in attention to certain unusual or "sensitive" questions. The new course takes into account the most important movements and changes of our country's history beginning with 1918. It demonstrates the battles of the workers' movement, the historical meaning of our country's liberation. The textbook deals most thoroughly with the years between 1945 and 1962, but follows the most important processes of our social-economic and cultural developments until 1975, the declaration of our party's program. Naturally, during the classes the events, results, and worries of the past decade will also be discussed.

By the way, the manuscript of the textbook is at press, and the related collection of text is also waiting to be published.

The textbook--and instruction will strive for this as well--discusses our history of the past decades openly and honestly, but no one should expect sensational things from it or some type of new historical view. This large-scale undertaking can "only" be considered new in as much as it summarizes for the university students the mature results of Hungarian Marxist historical science achieved in the past one or two decades.

[Question] Who will teach this new subject, and what kind of aid will they receive for their work?

[Answer] The history of Hungary will be taught by instructors specializing in scientific socialism in the Marxist department, working together with teachers in the philosophy faculty and at teachers' colleges. The great majority of instructors of scientific socialism are, by the way, history teachers, a significant number dealing with historical questions in their scientific work as well, who have gained considerable professional and pedagogical experiences while teaching the history of the workers' movement. Naturally, the new task requires continued great effort and intense preparation. We are trying to lend appropriate help for this. During the past school year the Center for Continuing Education of Scientific Socialism has organized several courses which provide the scientific preparation necessary for the instruction of the new subject. Furthermore, during this semester every interested instructor will participate in the central and regional refresher courses and lectures. The teachers' work will be greatly aided by the instructional films prepared in the meantime.

Besides professional-scientific preparation, especially important in the teaching of this subject is an attitude of open instruction, the capacity for developing an honest exchange of views, and a partnership between the instructor and the student. I feel that most of our teachers are prepared for the instruction of the new subject in this respect as well.

12932/12947

CSO: 2500/312

SPECULATION ON SUCCESSOR TO PRIMATE LEKAI

Frankfurt am Main, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 4 Jul 86 p 5

[Article by Johann Georg Reissmuller: "Sickly and Superannuated": The Hungarian Episcopate After the Death of the Primate]

[Text] The death of the Archbishop of Esztergom and Primate of Hungary, Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, last Monday left a new gap in the Hungarian episcopate, already incomplete and weakened by illness. The archdiocese of Esztergom is orphaned now, and so is the honorary office of the Primate of Hungary, which is always held by the archbishop of Esztergom. Now the need is great in Esztergom. The 72-year-old suffragan bishop, Ivan Palos, is seriously ill; the second suffragan in Esztergom, Istvan Bagi, died in January at the age of only 54. The diocese of Szombathely (Steinamanger) is also without diocesan bishop--Bishop Arpad Fabian died there in May; Suffragan Bishop Gyoergy Poka is past seventy.

Because of illness, several Hungarian diocesan bishops are hardly able to exercise their office. The archbishop of Kalocsa in southern Hungary, Jozsef Ijjas, 84 years old, is ailing seriously. However, there is an archbishop-coadjutor in Kalocsa with the right to succession: 59-year-old Laszlo Paskai, a Franciscan. Archbishop Laszlo Kadar of Eger (Erlau) in northeast Hungary, born in 1927, is seriously ill. His suffragan bishop, Endre Kovacs, of the same age, is obligated to work as parish priest in the town of Miskolc, about 50 km from Eger. Bishop Pataky of Gyoer (Raab) in western Hungary suffers from an eye disease, he seems to be almost blind. Suffragan Bishop Jozsef Kacziba more formally belongs to the Gyoer diocese, since he has a special task: he directs the joint institutions of the Hungarian dioceses.

Jozsef Cserhati, bishop of Pecs (Fuenfkirchen) in south Hungary and concurrently secretary of the Hungarian Bishops' Conference, born in 1914, could not attend the bishops' synod in Rome last autumn because of illness. The suffragan bishop of Pecs, Gellert Belon, is 74 years old and has to take care of a parish. It is said that Jozsef Udvardy, bishop of the southeast Hungarian diocese of Szeged-Csanad, would like to retire. Udvardy is 76 years old. Jozsef Bank, diocesan bishop of the central Hungarian diocese Vac (Waitzen), is the same age, but still exercises his office gladly and eagerly.

Taken all in all, it is the picture of an episcopate reduced in numbers and physical presence. The directing authority of the Catholic Church in Hungary is the Bishops' Conference. Cardinal Lekai was its chairman. His death vacated this office, also. However, in recent years an informal group of four prelates more and more became the real decision-making body. Its members were the Primate, Archbishop Cardinal Lekai; the secretary of the Bishops' Conference, Bishop Cserhati; the archbishop of Eger, Kadar; and the archbishop-coadjutor of Kalocsa, Paskai. Kadar's illness had limited the effectiveness of this leadership body; with Lekai's death, it ceased to exist.

It must be of concern to the Pope to fill the two orphaned Hungarian dioceses first of all. But he can appoint bishops only with the agreement of the Hungarian government. In such a situation, both sides nominate priests whom they trust. In the end, there is a compromise which shows that the government is the stronger party in these negotiations. A priest cannot become bishop if the secular Hungarian authority does not want him under any circumstances. But in recent times, the government also has no longer attempted to push through the appointment of a bishop whom the Pope definitely considers unfit for such a pastorate.

9917

CSO: 2300/444

MILITARY, KISZ YOUTH ORGANIZATION COOPERATIVE EFFORTS

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian No 19, 10 May 86 p 1

[Unsigned Article: "Reception of Delegates at the KISZ-Congress"]

[Text] The people's army delegates to the 11th KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] Congress were received by Col Gen Ferenc Karpati, minister for national defense. Also present at the meeting were Dr Jenő Kovács, substitute department chief of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Central Committee, and László Varga-Sabján, secretary of the KISZ Central Committee. The experiences of the people's army during preparations for the congress were summarized, and those activities which the Youth League continues to expect in the future from its members who are fulfilling military service were discussed.

In his report, Lieut Col Kalman Argalasz, leader of the youth division of the Political Principal Group Leadership informed the national defense minister of the work completed in the KISZ organizations. Col Gen Ferenc Karpati asked congressional delegates to continue their work in the ranks of the Youth League with courage and initiative. They should speak equally openly and honestly of their results and anxieties. The leaders of the people's army will continue to do everything in the future to broaden the scope of the KISZ organizations, to increase their voice and participation in the solution of questions concerning young soldiers. The need for this, emphasized the minister, is so that the KISZ leaders and members will let their voices be heard more actively, and create an atmosphere in which they will truly deal with the most important questions youthfully, democratically, and politically. Comrade Karpati supplied division leader Attila Csák, the delegate of the MN 4123 youth-communists with personal good advice as well.

Following the reception of the minister of national defense, the congressional delegates, along with the KISZ leaders working in the people's army, discussed their experiences while preparing for the congress and the immediate work to be done following the preparations at the Mate Zalka Military Technical High School. At the conference, led by Maj Gen Istvan Kovács, the organizational group leader of the Political Chief Group Leadership, two of the men who spoke were László Varga-Sabján and Lieut Gen Istvan Horvath, political chief group leader, minister's deputy.

12932/12948

CSO: 2500/311

ADVERTISING ALONE TO SUPPORT NEW TOURIST RADIO STATION

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 Jun 86 p 16

[Article by A.B.: "Radio Danubius---In German, New Voice on the Airwaves"]

[Text] Beginning 1 July, featuring 11 hours programming time daily, from 0700 to 1800, on ultrashort wave band and 100.5 MHz frequency, a new radio station will operate in the German language: Radio Danubius. Word about this event was given to representatives of the press Friday morning at Hungarian Radio headquarters by specialists from foreign tourism, postal affairs and radio communications.

Dr Gyorgy Varga, manager of Radio Danubius, said that the program of the new station will reach listeners at the indicated ultrahigh wave-frequency within an 80-kilometer radius from Kabhegy station. One-fifth of program time will be devoted to talk and the rest will consist mostly of light music. The primary objective of the new radio station to disseminate tourist information to many thousands of native German or German-speaking foreign travelers, besides to entertain them. It was planned that the station will have to support itself from advertising revenues, but during this year's introductory period it will still have to operate with a government subsidy.

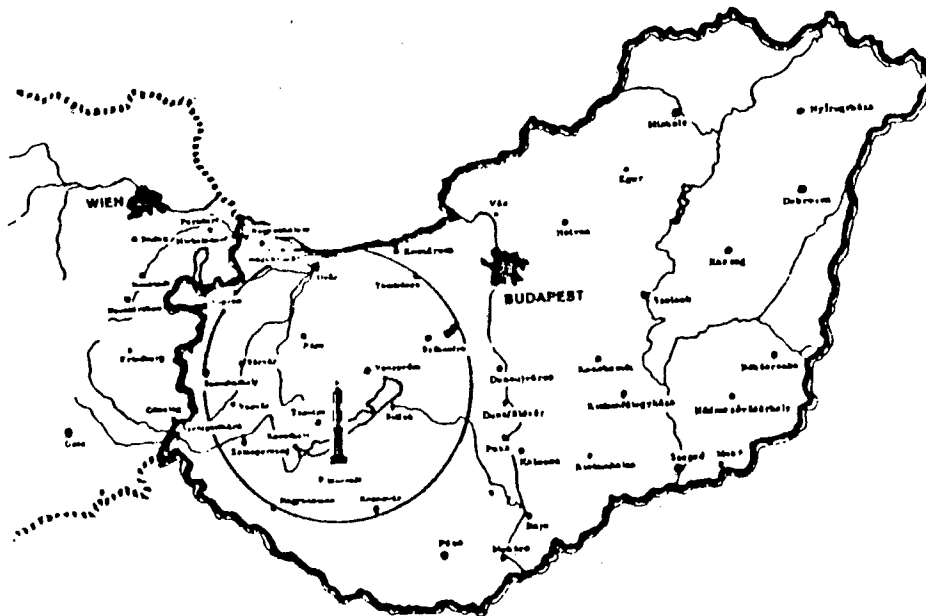
With business in mind, the program's compilers bring commercial information to their listeners too. Of course, the program will cover the weather, information about goods that may be brought in and taken out of the country and, beside other news of general interest, there will be a search service also.

Although the broadcast range of the new radio station covers Lake Balaton and its surroundings, Radio Danubius is not identical with Radio Balaton which has, on various occasions, been proposed before different forums, and which can now be heard on Radio Petofi's daytime program. As was mentioned at the press conference, it would be advisable to have the coverage of the program (as the name of the radio station would imply) extend over the entire length of the Danube, including our capital city, since every summer we have countless foreign tourists here too, not to mention the fact that anyone who visits us for business or commercial purposes will most often come to Budapest rather than to Lake Balaton.

Radio Danubius cannot, mainly for financial reasons, live up to this expectation; the output of Kabhegy station is insufficient for this.

At the same press conference, Dr Lajos Horvath, head of the Hungarian Postal Service's Programming Division, explained that for the time being, because of a lack of available frequencies, there is no way to cover the entire country with the programs of the three principal stations. Nevertheless, when the new station is set up, another station will start operating in Budapest, which will broadcast the program of Radio Kossuth on the 103.3 MHz frequency, i.e. also on the ultrashort wave band.

After 1800 and until 2000, Radio Danubius will take over the program of Radio Kossuth. The program runs through the end of September. Radio Danubius will discontinue at the end of the tourist season and the station will broadcast the program of Radio Kossuth throughout the day. Until the end of this year [it will broadcast] in mono, but next year [it will be] in stereo. Billboards of Utinform, at major traffic points in the reception area, will announce the name and frequency of the radio station.



12759/9190
CSO: 2500/361

MSZMP STUDY EXAMINES WEAKNESS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

Budapest TARSADALOMTUDOMANYI KOZLEMENYEK in Hungarian No 1, 1986 pp 33-49

[Article by Peter Schmidt, Sociology Institute of the MSZMP Central Committee: "The Hungarian Political System's Peculiarities"]

[Text] Research conducted at the Sociology Institute of the MSZMP Central Committee in recent years has been investigating the directions of the Hungarian political system's development and improvement. The present study is partially one author's summary of these investigations. And partially its conclusions could serve as initial hypotheses in the political system's further research that is still necessary.

Some Introductory Comments

1. Few questions interest Hungarian public opinion, and intellectuals in particular, as keenly as the problems of our political system's democracy. For the Hungarian political system's democracy has developed after 1956 along its own peculiar course, and at present also its internal contradictions are being formulated more and more clearly. These internal contradictions do not stem simply from the growing stresses created by the economic conditions and the living standard, as many people believe; they stem also from the internal contradictions of the political system's development. By this I do not wish to deny the role of social contradictions fueled by economic hardships, but on this occasion I would like to place emphasis on our political system's internal stresses, rather than on the mentioned contradictions.
2. These stresses manifest themselves in a crisis of values especially among our youth, in a rejection of values cherished in the past, in a search for new values, and often in a rehashing of bourgeois society's old values. The emergence of value orientations divorced from everything--even in the conception of democracy, among others--indicates a departure from genuine politics that thinks in terms of social classes and strata. Political programs that think only in terms of values are now common. And this again cannot be attributed to a narrowing of the differences between social classes and strata in Hungary, to the dismantling for the most part of the strong class barriers that were typical especially before the liberation. There is no better proof of the incompleteness of this explanation than the recent decline of social mobility: it is now far more difficult than previously for anyone from the blue-collar

classes and strata to join the ranks of the intellectuals. In spite of this, thinking in terms of social classes and strata, and of their interests, is hardly typical of the groups that are becoming more and more active in politics.

Although I concede the role of values in the community's life, I do not care to join the debates dominated solely by values, because I do not think that a realistic picture could be formed in this manner of the political system's present, let alone its future.

3. Many people attribute to external or international conditions the social stresses that manifest themselves politically. The accelerating arms race and the intensification of international political and ideological struggle, while the living standard declines and the incomes of different social strata diverge, unquestionably produce such tendencies as well. But if a society is unable to tolerate such contradictions and to resolve them through compromises, if it becomes a society that is losing its values or is heading in that direction, then we must seek the causes also in the given society's internal conditions.

4. Nor do I care to join what may be called scientific schools, the ones that attempt to solve the problem--and often to avoid it, I believe--by analyzing concepts. Analysis of the political system's or political structure's concept is a very important part of scientific cognition, but an existing, living society's concerns of this nature cannot be resolved through such analysis.

For the above reasons, this study attempts to depict the Hungarian political system without the effects of external challenges; and from this system's internal contradictions it wants to draw conclusions regarding the future and the prospects of development, without escaping behind definitions of concepts.

5. Drawing a picture of society, and of the political system, that is not derived from abstract values and comes close to the original also means that I perceive the political system as a part of society's development at any given time. I do not believe that the political system can be shaped at will, even though I recognize the significant role of volitional factors in this area. A variety of factors determine the political system. It depends on the depth of society's internal contradictions, on society's readiness to compromise, on society's acceptance of the evolved system of political institutions and values associated with them, on the development of the international situation, and on many other factors. Therefore I regard the political system as a product of historical development that is determined by its past, and whose future cannot be shaped without knowledge of its present. This determinacy holds true not only in the evolutionary period of society's development, but also in the period of revolutionary changes when the will of the political forces coming to power unquestionably assumes a greater role. Numerous examples can be cited from Hungary's development to demonstrate that abstract value orientations, divorced from society's organic development, were entirely incapable of instituting real political reforms, especially after 1949. When attempting to sketch our political system in its present form, therefore, I cannot dispense with presenting also certain elements of our historical development.

Development of the Hungarian Political System's Structure

The structure of our present political system took shape in 1949-1950. Despite some very significant modifications, to be discussed further on, the basic structure has barely changed since then. The essence of this basic structure is the one-party system; in other words, the existence of a single power center where the basic questions of society's development are decided. Establishment of the one-party system put an end to the pluralistic political system that had evolved after the liberation and had been characterized by the existence of several political power centers and by a power structure based on a compromise among these centers. From the viewpoint of our topic, the reasons [for introducing the one-party system] can be summed up briefly as follows:

- a. Hungary's then political leadership equated the building of socialism with the mechanical adoption of Soviet experience, and frequently with its copying. This was considered natural especially in relation to the political system's conditions. It found expression not only in the dissolution of the political parties which up to then had been allies, but also in the formulation of the voluntary public organizations' so-called drive-belt role under close party control, and in adopting in the Hungarian constitution of 1949 a structure of state institutions on the model of the 1936 Soviet constitution.
- b. International developments figured prominently among the reasons. That was the period when the antifascist international coalition broke up, the cold war spread, and political thinking was weighing even the possibility of a hot war. Thereby also the international agreements became void that had been concluded during or after World War II, to define the status of the East European national societies liberated from Hitlerite German occupation. The world split in that period into two camps, each headed by a superpower.
- c. Among the causes that led to the development of such a political structure we must mention the growing strength within the communist movement of the forces who degraded the popular-front policy against fascism, into a tactic and instrument for gaining power, discarding thereby the strategic ideas behind this policy. Of all the peoples' democracies, this is reflected perhaps the most clearly in the changes that occurred in Hungary. The international working-class movement has been trying ever since to restore the popular-front policy as an integral part of exercising the power of the proletariat.

After Stalin's death and especially after the 20th CPSU Congress, significant debates unfolded over the mentioned changes in the political system. There were such debates within the international working-class movements as well as in the individual socialist countries. The motives behind these debates may be summed up as liquidation of the cult of the individual, and democratization of the political system. In Hungary, the political system's reform and the debates over it were associated with the crisis society underwent in 1955 and 1956.

The relatively quick political consolidation after 1956 can be attributed to the newly formed MSZMP's program. It wanted to restore national unity, and also called for the political system's democratization. This program focused at the time on criticism of past mistakes, and from this negation it set positive goals.

The program criticized the way in which the MDP [Hungarian Workers' Party] had exercised its leading role. The party resolutions asserted that the MDP had used excessive administrative methods and commands to assert its leading role. The MSZMP pledged to adopt resolutions that would be binding only for its organizations and members; and to respect the independence of state agencies and voluntary public organizations. Let us hasten to add that interpretation of the announced policy standpoint evoked considerable debate, both then and later. For the one-party system, which creates a single political center, has its own logic. Although the outwardly independent organizations are not subordinate to the party, all the basic questions of society's development and life are decided within the party itself, and the implementation of party resolutions is ensured. The shift, if any, in this area is that the system of decision-making has changed, which is by no means negligible: the mentioned organizations have been given a more or less determinative role before a decision is made, which also means before the party's governing bodies adopt their resolutions. The party pledged to regard its leading role as service to society, rather than an aim in itself; and it announced its intention to use persuasion, instead of issuing commands.

Every citizen's right to form his own opinion of the world and society, his own world outlook, has been proclaimed within the framework of this program. The party wishes to influence, but not to expropriate, the formation of one's world outlook. While the previous political leadership permitted only the support of central conceptions, but did not tolerate debate or the expression of contrasting opinions, the MSZMP has not denied even the individual's right to form his own world outlook. But this again caused internal stresses, because it was in conflict with the pre-1956 principle and practice of the party's leading role.

Changes in the functions and organization of the police, including the dissolution of the AVH [State Security Authority] and legal restrictions on the activity of the police, were among the first measures introduced in 1956-1957. An important topic of debate in the course of this became the question as to whether the statutory regulation of police activity, and the legal curbs on it, would mean specifically the abandonment of society's protection, the undesired protection of antisocial elements, and the liberalization of the rule of the proletariat.

Restriction of the state agencies' power by legal means, especially implementation of the ideal of public administration restrained by legal safeguards, was pursued as a general policy. In the spirit of this policy, for example, administrative procedures were regulated in detail and comprehensively for the first time.

From this period we might mention further measures affecting the political system, the institutional structure of exercising political power. At that time the common denominator of these measures, just as of the MSZMP's entire program, was defense of socialism's underpinnings while establishing democratic guaranties to liquidate the crimes of the past and prevent their recurrence, in the interest of exercising power more democratically.

The political system's restructuring remained and proceeded within this framework until the mid-1960's. After the 8th MSZMP Congress, these processes not

only accelerated but also acquired new political impetus. With the completion of agriculture's socialist reorganization, the party attempted to draw the conclusions from its stated basic principle that the foundation of socialism was in place in Hungary, and therefore the construction of socialism could continue on its own foundation. There began reform endeavors that no longer stemmed simply from criticism of the past, but--taking the new social structure and balance of political power into consideration--also proclaimed the political program of broadening socialist democracy.

The main endeavors can perhaps be summed up in that Hungarian society's political system, instead of being founded simply on the old "either capitalism or socialism" pair of opposites, must also be able to express the differences of opinion and interest that arise within a society founded on socialism. The relaxation of international tensions, and the reform endeavors that began also in the Soviet Union, helped this policy to unfold.

Intensification of Society's Autonomous Motions

The system of the economy's management has been in the forefront of the reform endeavors. But the second half of the 1960's witnessed also the electoral law's revision, the implementation of constitutional reform, the reassessment of the functions of public administration, the enactment of the new law on the judiciary and public prosecutors, the growing role of the trade unions in safeguarding their members' interests, the demand for the establishment of new corporative bodies, etc. These last-mentioned demands already have a direct bearing on the political system's transformation.

From the viewpoint of the political system, the reform of economic management essentially means recognizing also the validity of the economy's laws of autonomous motion as they apply to society's production of material goods. The system of managing the economy by directives emphasized the central administrative machinery's decisive role, proceeding from the principle that this machinery represents national interests, as opposed to the partial interests within society. The increasing role of partial interests, the recognition of enterprise interests, the strengthening of commodity-money relationships--all this wants to shape national interests through social compromises, by allowing the partial interests to clash in the area of production.

The economy's increasing autonomous motion has caused also internal contradictions. In accordance with traditions of long standing, parts of the managing state administrative machinery and party machinery have been reluctant to relinquish their old roles, but often even enterprise managers have not welcomed the greater accountability that accompanies wider decision-making authority. The artificially created price system that evolved up to then has caused internal stresses. The economic reform had to be implemented amidst the conditions of a growing world recession. Because of the recession, the state machinery that manages the economy has often reverted to direct intervention, with or without cause. The period has been characterized by recognition in principle of the need to strengthen autonomy, and by its curtailment for a variety of reasons.

In conjunction with the economic reform, however, such conflicting tendencies have appeared also within society, in politics. Society has more or less

recognized the growing importance of partial interests in the economy and believes that in principle they ought to be taken into consideration. But when the introduced measures produce also undesirable phenomena, some social strata clamor for state intervention. When shortages in the market or the monopolistic position of some enterprises leads to price increases, for example, society itself demands intervention to curb the role of commodity-money relationships.

In conjunction with the system of economic management, considerable differences of opinion have arisen also regarding the party's role. Some of those who favor increasing the role of market forces and commodity-money relationships see the safeguards of interest-based autonomous motion not only in restricting the authority of the administrative agencies that manage the economy; in the same manner they also want to limit the party's authority to make decisions concerning the economy. The justification of this standpoint at present is unquestionably the fact that legally the party's central governing bodies are distinct and separate from the state agencies, including the administrative agencies; but in fact they are hardly separable. The standpoints and endeavors emerging within public administration can restrict unfavorably the economy's autonomous motion not only through administrative powers and managing authority, but also through party decisions. Indeed, excessive administrative intervention by the state is based occasionally on resolutions the party adopts at the urging of the administrative agencies. In my judgment, however, the problem must nevertheless be approached from a different direction.

The party is a part of society's political motion and, through the political system's transformation, must gradually be separated from public administration, not only by law (where, to a large extent, separation already exists) but in fact as well. The party must control the state through political instruments, but may not make decisions instead of the state. This is now a generally accepted basic principle that is expressed also in central party resolutions. But practical realization of this basic principle is hampered by traditions, and is also contradictory due to the one-party system's existing structure.

Hence it follows that a change of the party's role must be sought by altering its social function, rather than by restricting the party's authority (as in the case of public administration). Without being able to discuss here the details of the party's role, we merely wished to indicate with the above examples the anomalies that have arisen with the birth of autonomous motions. (I will revert to this further on.)

Autonomous, interest-based endeavors have emerged also in other social forms of motion besides the economy. In the administration of the housing stock, for example, commodity-money relationships have gradually gained a role, in addition to the allocation of housing solely on the basis of social considerations. Today some social strata, and among them especially youths, are already demanding more government intervention because, in their opinion, the extent to which market conditions determine the distribution of housing has exceeded tolerable limits. On the other hand, there is a debate among the population on whether allowing the private owners of family homes to give notice to their tenants on the basis of a civil-law contract might be a better solution from society's

viewpoint, because it would make for a freer market. A well-known negative example of state intervention is the complete failure of the attempts to control the rents for sublet rooms.

But the debates on university autonomy, which seek a different approach to the role of the Ministry of Culture and Education and to the universities' self-government, thrive on the same culture medium. The exchange of views in the public debate on the draft of the new education law has been interesting also from the viewpoint of broadening autonomy.

As a part of the autonomy debates, the question has been raised of how to interpret the state's role in providing health care. State-controlled health care through district physicians, and free choice of physicians were the two extremes of the views expressed in the debates. And the debates on whether to retain the village and municipal administrations within the state structure, or to grant the local representative bodies the right to act independently of the central agencies (autonomous nature), stem from the same social roots. Or we might mention also the debates on how to reconcile with state intervention the interests of cooperatives as production collectives.

No matter which of these or additional examples we analyze, each one clearly shows that Hungarian society's development has reached the stage of raising a new question: Does the liquidation of the civil society, based on private ownership in relation to the state, mean the acceptance of "unlimited" statehood? Or stated differently: In a society founded on the public ownership of the means of production, within what range is autonomy necessary in relations with the state? The initial experiences of building socialism clearly show that not even this society would be unable to function effectively without interest-oriented individual, family and group actions. And this necessarily means the curtailment of central intervention; among other things, the recognition of autonomous action in relations with the state. However, a measure of such recognition has not developed at all.

Guaranties for Democratic Exercise of Power

From the second half of the 1960's on, development has continued also of the system of legal and institutional guaranties for the more democratic exercise of power. This is when the concept of legally constrained public administration becomes complete. Instead of setting social and political objectives for public administration, the statutes increasingly tend to regulate the scopes of authority. In other words, they regulate when and under what conditions public administration may intervene in the affairs of individuals or groups. And this assumes the nature of guaranties. At the same time, it also creates new contradictions. Under these conditions, the question is being raised more and more stridently as to who, which agency or body, has the authority to issue regulations establishing legal curbs on public administration. Today such regulations are being issued predominantly by central administrative agencies. The contradiction reads as follows: May the enactment of legal norms that set curbs on executive power be entrusted to the administrative agency whose own executive power is being curbed? This is why, in enacting legal norms, the aspiration has been formulated to increase the role of society, and of the bodies directly representing it.

Another social impact of legally regulating the actions of public administration is a certain upsurge of bureaucratic tendencies. Without social objectives, the implementation of legal norms could become an autotelic program for public administration, and this can be offset only by firm voluntary public control of public administrations. Such a balance is minimal at present, as evident also from the perfunctory functions of the representative bodies and their limited role in the process of enacting statutory regulations, as outlined above.

The broadening of the system of guaranties is reflected in the measures introduced to increase voluntary public control of public administration. Such measures include, among others, the electoral laws of 1970 and 1983. The essence of these endeavors is to offer the voters wider choice. The fixed general ticket, and subsequently the running of a single PPF candidate per district, reduced elections to perfunctory political demonstrations in support of the political system. Since it was unable to represent real interests and to express real differences of opinion, this substance of the elections has been drained gradually. The nomination of candidates by meetings of voters, and the nomination of two or more candidates per election district--optional in 1970, and mandatory in 1985--mark the widening of the choice offered voters in the elections.

But if we consider the elections in practice, the real choice offered voters has widened only slightly. The election districts usually go along with nominating the two official candidates proposed by the PPF. When there are so-called unofficial candidates, the machinery conducting the election is hostile to them. There is hardly any publicly perceptible difference between the standpoints and programs of the candidates nominated in this manner, and the voters' choice shrinks to personal questions. The candidates hardly gain an image or distinguishing features reflected in their aspirations. In National Assembly election districts covering several settlements, often the two candidates are able to offer only a choice of perfunctory prestige between settlements.

But the wider choice of candidates in elections to the National Assembly and the local councils is bringing pressures to the surface. The debates on elections are now considering how the wider choice of candidates, the expression of differences of opinion and interest in the election and functioning of representative bodies, could be perfected in accordance with our present social structure.

Establishment of the Council on Constitutional Law is yet another sign of perfecting the system of guaranties to ensure democratic exercise of power. Its unambiguous purpose is to rule on the constitutionality of statutory regulations, primarily of the ones issued by administrative agencies, whenever the constitutionality of the regulations is questioned within society. The law authorizes state agencies--especially the courts and the public prosecutors--and the national governing bodies of voluntary public and corporative organizations to request rulings on constitutionality from the council. The question that now arises is whether the contradictions arising from diverging interests and differences of opinion within society can be submitted to the Council on Constitutional Law. Knowing our system of decision-making, we may probably say that, as a rule, they cannot.

Generally typical of the Hungarian system of decision-making is that today, as a result of the introduced changes, it is more or less able to take differences of interest and opinion into account, but it is hardly able to formulate them publicly, to let them clash and to integrate them publicly. The interests are taken into account for the most part behind the scenes and not publicly, which of course also reduces the effectiveness of making allowances for them. To ensure the assertion of the interests they represent, the corporative organizations--by now they already are expressing more or less the differences of interest and opinion--want to be included, or succeed in having themselves included, in the system of decision-making. But their inclusion also means the assumption of responsibility, or at least prevents them from attempting to publicly influence the decisions by political means. For the corporative organizations, appealing to the public and engaging in politics would harbor the danger of their exclusion from the decision-making mechanism; their inclusion in this mechanism is at present the only effective guaranty of their being able to assert the interests they represent.

Under these conditions, the corporative organizations cannot afford to turn to the Council on Constitutional Law, which would require going public. Instead, through their influence on the party's governing bodies and the government, they prefer by far to gain forums that can ensure the results they want. But this keeps integration mostly behind the scenes; and society is able to participate only to a limited extent, if at all, in the process of integrating the interests and views. This is also the reason why the corporative organizations frequently come into conflict with those whose interests they represent. Society is practically unaware of the processes taking place within the political system, processes which after all do constitute by now real, although not wide-scale, integration within society.

But in practice these conditions prevent the real functioning of the legal and institutional guaranties that are in place. This applies not only to the electoral system, the representative bodies, and the Council on Constitutional Law, but also to numerous institutions that protect the rights of citizens. In such cases it is basically not the regulations on guaranties that are at fault, but the social, political and power environment that as yet is hardly able to support these guaranties.

Voluntary Public Organizations

Very important from the viewpoint of judging the political system's nature is the system of voluntary public organizations through which the integration of interests takes place in the course of exercising power.

Significant changes have occurred in the Hungarian political system also in this respect, even though these changes--and this I would like to emphasize at the very beginning of my analysis--do not approximate by far the just analyzed changes in granting autonomy or providing institutional and legal guaranties.

The changes in the system of voluntary public organizations emerged likewise in the second half of the 1960's and have been closely linked to the changes in the system of managing the economy. The recognition of enterprise interests and, as an expression of this recognition, the expansion of enterprise

independence raised in a new light also the question of the trade unions' role. Under the centralized command-directed economy, the enterprises had been assigned tasks to fulfill; and the tasks of the trade unions had likewise been defined essentially as helping the enterprises--among other things, by organizing labor competitions--to fulfill or exceed the central agencies' economic concepts and plans. Interest-oriented economic management recognized not only the special enterprise interests, but also the special interests of individual groups within the enterprise collectives. Through a harmony of interests, the new system of economic management wanted to make the emergence of national interests possible in economic activity. But this focused attention on the trade unions' role in safeguarding the special interests of the workers and employees, of their own members. During the past 20 years, the trade unions and the political system's other parts have been debating the meaning of this corporative role and whether the trade unions, as sharers in political power, are able to reconcile this corporative role with the tasks of supporting political power; furthermore, the extent to which the public advocacy of special interests is useful and acceptable in present-day Hungarian society, and whether this might be harmful when it comes to carrying out joint action. There is debate also on the so-called dual role of the trade unions, and on the practical feasibility of reconciling their two roles.

The federations of agricultural cooperatives and their national body, the TOT [National Council of Agricultural Cooperatives], were established in the second half of the 1960's, in the spirit of filling this corporative role. This was already the time when, thanks to the economic reform, the agricultural cooperatives enjoyed more independence; intervention by state agencies in the operations of the cooperatives was curtailed; as the instruments of state control, the jaras agencies were mostly bypassed; supervisory authority was transferred to the agencies of the megye councils; and the banks became important tools through which the central agencies could exert influence. In a departure from the other cooperative federations, the function assigned the federations of agricultural cooperatives was already to voice and assert the interests of their member cooperatives, rather than to implement--as voluntary public organizations acting on the state's behalf--the central concepts within the cooperatives. In response to this, a similar process started--once again, not without contradictions--also within the SZOVOSZ [National Federation of Cooperatives] and the National Organization of Artisans and Retailers.

Debates on the corporative functions developed also within the KISZ, the youth union. One direction these debates took raised the question whether a unified youth union was able to perform real corporative functions, or was it necessary to form stratum organizations for this purpose. Among university students, the debate centered on whether to vest the KISZ with such authority, or to form an organization representing all students. The KISZ leadership attempted to respond to the debates by stepping up its political work among the social strata. Differences of opinion regarding the nature of the KISZ, whether it was a mass organization or a political vanguard, were also a part of this debate.

We find numerous signs of searching for ways and means also in the Patriotic People's Front movement during the past decade. Until 1950-1951, often amidst sharp contradictions, the popular front had been a forum for the collaboration of political movements and parties. With the dissolution of the parties, it

became the symbol of a more amorphous national unity. But the popular front practically ceased to function in the early 1950's, then in the mid-1950's it became the scene of the political infighting within the MDP. Since 1956, the MSZMP has been emphasizing the PPF's partnership role, and has been striving to consult the PPF committees on the basic issues affecting society. In the course of the preparations for the PPF Congress in 1985, the PPF attempted to formulate more clearly its role as collaboration of existing organizations, and thus to represent all the endeavors emerging within Hungarian society. Today the PPF is striving to publicly express all the interests and views that do not have their own organized forums within society. Within the PPF, for example, a Consumers' Council has been formed to represent the interests of consumers.

Similar efforts are evident also at other units of the system of voluntary public organizations. Many organizations--the MTESZ [Federation of Associations for the Technical and Natural Sciences], for example--are self-declared corporative bodies. Now the functions of even the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce include tasks in conjunction with representing enterprise interests.

There have also been demands from several quarters to establish new corporative organizations. The arguments regarding the establishment of an organization to represent the interests of business partnerships are common knowledge. The establishment of associations for, respectively, urban development and environmental protection has also sparked controversy: the state and party machine-ries have frequently opposed the establishment of these associations, arguing that their functions could be performed within the framework of the PPF, and therefore new organizations are not necessary. It will be remembered that it took nudists several years before they could form an organization of their own.

Proposals to form new corporative organizations frequently appear in the scientific literature or the press, whenever efforts to promote certain interests are noted or contradictions of this nature are uncovered. Today it is being questioned whether the Council of Agricultural Cooperatives, a corporative organization representing the enterprise interests of the agricultural co-operatives, is able to express the differences of interest arising from membership in the cooperatives. The household plots now have a significant role in commodity production, especially in raising hogs. Failure to solve the representation of their interests is a source of recurring conflicts. The procurement organization is a monopoly, and the household plots are able to respond to its actions only by halting production. This in its turn causes meat shortages, supply problems, and social tensions. In the interest of making these conflicts more bearable, it has been proposed to form also an organization to represent the interests of household plots. The debate on forming a corporative organization to represent the interests of the local autonomies--i.e., of the villages and municipalities--has likewise been going on for several years.

We could continue listing the changes, or the demands for them. But in this area, as clearly evident already from the cited examples, we are still in the stage of emerging demands, of interpreting the corporative role, and not yet in the stage of public implementation.

Political System in Its Present Form
(Summary Comments)

Consequently, the presented picture of the political system is burdened with contradictions. On the one hand, significant progress has been made in representing the differences of interest and opinion within society. I regard as such progress the intensification of certain autonomous motions within society, directed against centralized, and previously very rigid, management. The individual's recognized right to form his own view of the world and society's development could come into conflict with the endeavor, previously regarded as an element of the party's leading role, to emphasize and publicly declare the absolute unity of interests and views within society. Outside the voluntary public organizations, there is a variety of differences of opinion within society but cannot be represented in the existing organizational framework. Not even the press is able to reflect this variety at present; or if the press does proceed in the direction of publishing particular views, it occasionally presents--in the absence of social verification and smoothly functioning publicity--the reporter's personal views that society is unable to substantiate, rather than real conflicts of interest and differences of opinion.

The expansion of economic autonomy, and the growing role of market forces and commodity-money relationships more or less reflect also differences of interest. But they are unable to develop into social endeavors, because voluntary public organizations are able to follow them only partially, if at all.

For example, the great social stresses in conjunction with the acquisition or allocation of housing are able to manifest themselves publicly only as individual conflicts or in their quantified form, but socially formulated programs and endeavors are unable to emerge.

The contradictions between the peasant household plots and the procurement organization can be formulated more or less in terms of quantity, but the present ways and means of resolving their contradictions are destructive in their effect. For example, the procurement organization may set the prices it pays for hogs, but the producer is now able to respond to a price level that he regards as unfavorable only by cutting back or discontinuing production, in conflict with the interests of society. We do not have as yet the public forums that could reconcile these interests.

As we have demonstrated, numerous institutional and legal guaranties have been provided in recent years to make the exercise of power more democratic. But these regulations are not very effective in practice, because the public motion that in the end would trigger their action is absent within society. This is what we have attempted to prove also in our analyses of the elections and the Council on Constitutional Law.

What all this boils down to in the final outcome is that there have undeniably been changes on the secondary fronts of society's forms of motion, but the system of voluntary public organizations (the party, mass organizations, corporate organizations, and associations) is unable to suitably confront publicly the resulting contradictions, and to resolve them with its own instruments. Hungary now has an extensive "informal" democracy (private gatherings, clubs,

debating circles without formalized organizational structures, etc.) that is outside the system of voluntary public organizations. The debates that take place here, the differences of opinion and interest, never reach the forums of the party, trade union, KISZ or other mass organizations. Our political system is two-faced. One face is the hodge-podge of private forums for debate, to which the general public does not have access. The other face is the formalized action and frequent idle-running of the system of voluntary public organizations. The two exist side by side, without significantly influencing each other. This is one of the Hungarian political system's greatest internal contradictions, but it does affect the political system's present form. On this occasion I would like to point out three such effects or characteristic features.

a. The political system is able to express contradictions in quantitative terms at best, and to provide merely quantitative answers to them, but is unable to convert into a social program the tasks arising from the distribution of interests, and to handle and integrate the conflicts of interest politically.

b. Due to the absence of integration, there are also anarchic tendencies in Hungarian society with its distribution of interests and differences of opinion. Which means that within society there are numerous views and opinions for which no common denominators are being sought, and which are not being integrated.

c. Finally, due to the aforementioned tendencies, opinions differing from the central decisions, and even constructive proposals supporting socialism, often appear, or are forced to appear, in the guise of dissent. Consequently, they frequently become politically unmanageable; and administrative, rather than political, means are used against them.

A forecast in itself may be accurate, but it will nonetheless be unsuccessful if we fail to draw the conclusions that follow from it. However, the drawing of conclusions is already a political question, because it involves the manner in which society handles contradictions.

In our public life there are various ideas on how to eliminate or terminate the mentioned contradiction. Undeniably, the formalized nature and perfunctory operation of our system of voluntary public organizations are nothing new. The contradiction arose as a result of openings in the secondary fronts of our public life. The balance was in equilibrium in the first half of the 1950's, because political power everywhere prohibited the expression of particular interests and contrasting opinions. Some see the reasons why this balance has been upset in that these "secondary fronts have run away"; and the system of voluntary public organizations, the party included, is no longer able to manage and control the undesirable developments on these fronts. According to this conception, the solution is obvious: the "excesses" on the "secondary fronts" must come to an end; the party must again take control, in the old sense, of the economy, culture and the private lives of individuals; and then "order" will have been restored. This course, however, cannot lead to suitable results and would merely postpone the answers to the raised questions, thereby further increasing society's indifference and further

undermining faith in socialism's ability to provide constructive answers to new questions.

Consider the changes in the electoral system. They stemmed from the realization that the old forms of the elections had become meaningless and were not offering society a real choice. After the multiparty system's abolition, in the early 1950's, the elections became essentially political demonstrations in support of socialism. To accept or reject the popular front's list of candidates (in 1950 and 1953, respectively), or to vote for or against the only popular-front candidate in single-member election districts, gradually lost its real social relevance. From the mid-1960's on, society regarded as the main question under debate not the capitalist or socialist solutions to the political system, but the manner in which socialism was being realized. The perfunctory political demonstration in the elections was unable to express this, and a choice for the voters had to be developed along other lines. In 1970, the voters' right to nominate candidates, the proclaimed feasibility of nominating two or more candidates per district, and the direct election of the megye councils' members were the answer to such a choice. The electoral system was streamlined further in 1983 when the nomination of at least two candidates per election district became mandatory and the national ticket was introduced.

In this respect the old electoral system's restoration would lack social relevance. A return to political demonstration in support of socialism would end the new contradictions that, for example, the two candidates per election district raise; but it still would not be feasible, because it is impossible to raise anew an issue that development has already outstripped. The only thing worth debating is whether the new solutions and decisions are offering a real choice. In other words, some people are heading in the wrong direction when their way of raising the issue is to claim that the electoral law's new solutions are inadequate for a one-party system, and to suggest that abolition of these new solutions would resolve the contradictions which unquestionably exist. Reform, revival, is inevitable. Worth debating is the direction in which this reform ought to be implemented. And public debate of this question can only help to find the expedient ways and means.

Reform of the system for managing the economy has also led to social stresses. But it would be a mistake to think that the way to resolve them is to stop the economic reform.

The growing role of interest elements in the political system brings with it the public airing of society's contradictions. It might be warranted to fear this, but it does not justify the answer that suppression of the interests and views would end the contradictions (at least seemingly).

Another way of liquidating the political system's internal contradictions is to publicly "channel" the differences of interest and opinion into the existing socialist organizations. This "restores" the balance discussed above, but in a way that makes the contradictions, which are still being formulated at present on the so-called "secondary fronts," a part of the policies of the corporative organizations, the party, the trade unions, and the youth movement.

At the same time it must be recognized that to follow such a course would not be free of problems. In some respects it would seemingly intensify society's contradictions, but now also publicly. Our present political system often does everything possible to declare unity and to prove that it exists, while the differences are able to appear only in a diffused manner. The ideas outlined above want to air the differences publicly.

Democracy's perfection is a contradictory process. Some people recognize it so long as it does not restrict their freedom of movement. When debating the directions in which socialist democracy ought to be perfected, others regard the freedom to express differences of interest and opinion publicly as absolute, as an aim in itself. To proclaim the differences might be democratic, but it will not necessarily benefit society. Because airing the differences of interest and opinion publicly, without suitable coordination, could push society toward anarchy. As we have indicated earlier, such tendencies are perceptible also in Hungary. Parallel with publicly airing the differences of interest and opinion, therefore, the political system must be made capable of reconciling the differences. This warrants the political system's transformation or, if you wish, the further development of its reform processes.

The requirement to publicly air the differences of interest and opinion raises in our public life--frequently without careful deliberation of all the implications--the question of a one-party or a multiparty system. Especially certain strata of young intellectuals, unfamiliar with the multiparty system's social effects, tend to regard as absolute the opinion that only the multiparty system is able to guarantee a democratic society. In this conception the establishment of a multiparty system becomes an aim in itself, divorced from internal and external conditions.

But others, citing past experience (including particularly the experience of 1956), claim from the very outset that to raise the issue of a multiparty system would only aid the political forces opposed to socialism, or would lead to a reformulation of capitalist social values under the conditions of a cold war, and must therefore be rejected.

The debate in this form is a moot one, divorced from all real social conditions, thinking only in terms of abstract values. For social differences diverge into mutually exclusive political parties not because the differences of interest and opinion are aired publicly, but specifically because their public airing and especially their integration are lacking.

With our analyses up to now we have attempted to demonstrate that our political system must be further perfected so that it will not only take opinions and interests into account in their amorphous form, but will also be able to let the opinions and interests find expression, clash, and especially become publicly integrated, in the voluntary public organizations. The purposeful and deliberate further perfection of the system of voluntary public organizations in this direction performs the casting of these organizations in the representation of interests. For one thing, the various organizations must support different views and opinions, but the organizations must also integrate these views and opinions. So far neither science nor political practice has given us an answer of any practical use to the question of when does a system of

organizations or an organization representing such interests become a party, and what attributes do not yet make it a party. The social sciences' answer that the party approaches social phenomena on the scale of entire society and formulates a program for society in its aggregate, whereas the corporative organizations represent sectoral interests, is a very attractive one but hardly applicable in practice to political motion. For there is no clear dividing line between the two. If the Council of Agricultural Cooperatives wants to take part in society's integration as an organization representing agricultural interests, instead of just expressing a negation, then it is shifting from expressing interests in their natural form toward society's political motion. At what point does a movement expressing agricultural interests become a fact of agricultural politics or directly an agricultural party? Western political scientists may argue over why the Greens in the FRG are or are not a political party, or why the environmentalists in other countries do not become political parties, but such debate can at best attempt to explain the facts of society; it can hardly undo these facts as if they had never happened.

In the history of the Hungarian political system's development there was a phase when society's growing internal stresses and the intensifying international contradictions caused the changeover to a one-party system; in other words, any political movement that did not accept the then existing model of socialist transformation was outlawed. Or, we might say, this was the realization the political forces then in power came to, at a certain stage of development. Aside from giving historical truth its due--which of course could be very important from a different point of view--there is hardly any basic difference between the two formulations. For a fact remains a fact, whether the decision is traced to faulty political perception or to an objective fact.

In society's development, however, there comes a time when the old social contradictions are minimized, losing their significance; and there arise new conditions and contradictions that cannot be managed or resolved by denying legal recognition. And this moment in society's development will require the public handling of the newly arising contradictions, because otherwise society would be unable to resolve its internal contradictions without crises.

But it is also a loss of historical perspective and the wrong approach to this question if one's response to the new contradictions is a desire to restore the social solutions that are based on the old social structure. The only thing that the old parties and the directions of the present political system's perfection have in common is that both have sought ways in which to express the differences of interest and opinion. However, a different social and political structure requires different solutions; one cannot copy the other's solutions.

History cannot be altered. We cannot roll it back to a given moment, not even if we believe that the decision adopted then was unfounded. And if it is true that a society develops organically also in its political system, then today's questions must be answered on the basis of how they are now being raised.

This is why, in my opinion, it is nonsensical to present as a political program the abstract ideal of a multiparty system. If we make the voluntary public organizations suitable to publicly express the differences of interest and

opinion, then society's plurality of interests will be publicly evident. But the fact that differences of opinion and interest publicly exist does not necessarily mean a plurality of political parties, although it undoubtedly could develop into such a plurality. However, I regard this question as an organic part of society's development, a part that will be shaped by society's real political motion, and not simply by ideals regarding the political system.

In conclusion, let me revert to the need of integration. It is obvious that in our present political system the role of differences of interest and opinion is increasing, and will increase especially in the future. The present contradiction is due to the fact that the reconciliation of these differences is not adequate, or at least not sufficiently public. I think that public expression of the differences of interest and opinion ought to be developed, provided we also make the political system suitable for their integration. Without integration, however, intensification of the differences could sweep Hungarian society into anarchy. The ensuring of this integration process thus becomes our main problem. It is very difficult to outline in the abstract this problem's conclusions that are necessary for the present. On the basis of our experience to date, however, a few ideas can already be formulated now.

First of all, we ought to make unambiguously clear that the entire political system has to be made suitable for integration. Which means that the organizations expressing the differences of opinion must themselves participate in reconciling the differences. The compromises should not simply be announced by the party as arbitrator. Today integration emerges predominantly in the form of party decisions. Every corporative organization is striving to influence the party, and there is hardly any reconciliation between organizations. In our country, the periodic discussions between the trade unions and the government are perhaps the only visible forum for the reconciliation of differences between corporative organizations. But the public still knows very little about the content of these discussions.

The necessary decentralization of the process of integration presents a new situation for the party's governing bodies.

Decentralization cannot take place simply by restricting the governing bodies' "scope of authority." In other words, it is not possible to state in advance what matters will in principle be brought before the party's political forums. Attempts to restrict the role of the party's governing bodies to deciding important questions of policy, structure and strategy are doomed to fail already because the party is a political forum whose "sphere of authority" is in principle "unlimited," in the sense that any question causing political stresses, or involving conflicts of interest between social classes or strata, belongs before the party's forum. Not only "big" issues, but occasionally even seemingly minor contradictions may cause such stresses. In other words, the party itself must decide the range of questions on which it will want to adopt a standpoint, and external regulations cannot restrict the scope of its authority.

A few pages earlier we have already indicated that the idea of restricting the party's authority has arisen primarily in conjunction with decisions of an economic nature, predominantly because in the political system's structure up to

now the party's governing bodies and the state agencies could hardly be distinguished. The conclusion seemed logical that, in the interest of strengthening the economy's autonomous motion, it is necessary to modify not only the state's role that can be expressed also in terms of the scope of authority, but the party's decision-making bodies as well, because this can best ensure the increased assertion of the economy's internal laws. However, this conclusion is false, because the state is the instrument of executive intervention, whereas the party is a part of society's political motion that is based on the differences of interest and opinion. The party's role can be defined not by statutory regulations spelling out the scope of its authority, as in the case of the state, but by the laws of society's political motion. Under our one-party system, in other words, the guaranty of society's democratic life lies not in restricting the decision-making opportunities of the party's governing bodies, but in the free expression of the differences of interest and opinion, in allowing them to clash, and in their integration.

Within the party itself, however, it is always a matter of political deliberation to identify, on the one hand, the questions on which the party wishes to adopt a standpoint, or in which it considers the arbitration of conflicting interests as politically necessary; and on the other hand, the questions and social contradictions which the party will freely allow to clash. But this presupposes broad democracy within the party, because these deliberations become an important political issue.

The internal democracy of the party's structure and operation thus becomes a problem of socialist democracy. Today many people claim that the development or realization of party democracy could solve the basic questions of perfecting socialist democracy. And this is indeed true. But this question arises as follows: Can isolated party democracy exist under a political system that only more or less ensures society's openness? In my opinion, it cannot. Development of the party's internal democracy must be linked with the problems of expressing and integrating the differences of interest and opinion within society. For this we need the party which plays a different role, performs a different function, within society's life. The main issue in conjunction with the party's leading role is not simply the strengthening of its position within the decision-making system, but the ensuring by political means that the party plays the decisive role in society's political processes.

This road leads to developing a different kind of independence for the state agencies and voluntary public organizations. Under these conditions the party's governing bodies cannot direct, daily and in every matter, the state agencies, the voluntary public organizations, and their respective machineries. The decentralization of integration toward the corporative organizations presupposes a different kind of activity, for the party's governing bodies and membership, and for the voluntary public organizations as well.

Under such a division of labor, the state bears considerable responsibility in the process of integration. Through its activity, the state decides important questions of society's life. The broadening of democracy and the decentralization of integration mean in this case that the corporative organizations are given a direct say and interest-representing role also in the activities of state agencies. This basically alters the situation of the government and

even of the ministries, because political influence on the decisions is not simplified through the party's standpoints. In other words, also the state's role in integration changes.

The representative bodies built into the state's structure could become important forums for the voluntary public control and influencing of the state machinery. But this requires making the National Assembly and the councils suitable for expressing the differences of interest and opinion within society. These differences manifest themselves partially by places or residence, and partially in other cross sections of society. The changes introduced in the electoral system are the first steps in this direction.

1014

CSO: 2500/391

KRAKOW UNVEILS WORKERS MONUMENT TO REVOLUTION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Andrzej Gesing: "The Proletariat in the Struggle For Their Rights: The Opening of the Monument to the Revolutionary Deed"]

[Text] (Own information) On 23 June, a ceremony was held to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the revolutionary struggle of the Krakow proletariat and other Polish workers. On this occasion, the Monument to the Revolutionary Deed was uncovered. Its creator is the sculptor Antoni Hajdecki, a professor at the Krakow Academy of Fine Arts.

Among the many people present were the workers who took part in the worker protests at the Semperit, Suchard, Zieleniewski and Blasanka factories as well as those that everywhere in Poland responded to the call for "workers in the struggle for their rights" to take up the protest for a fair life with dignity. The standard bearers were workers from all over Poland.

The demonstration participants laid wreaths of flowers at the foot of the monument. In addition to the large public audience, the unveiling was also attended by Politburo Member Hieronim Kubiak and Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

"On the eve of the 10th Congress," said Henryk Bednarski, "this celebration of our most valuable political traditions reminds us all of the continuity of changes whose motive force is the struggle for the due rights of the working class, progress and socialism. Today, we can say that the results of this struggle have not been squandered. For 42 years, we have been living and working in a worker's Poland. The ideals for which the working class then struggled have been fulfilled and showed us the path to Poland's rebirth after World War II, a Poland within secure borders and a Poland of social justice. The revolutionary social reforms have profoundly changed the class structure and the position of the working class. Rural unemployment and crowding have disappeared. The working class has risen to become the master of the nation".

During the ceremonies honoring the 50th anniversary of the struggle of the Polish proletariat for its rights, commemorative tablets were unveiled and flowers placed before the Krakow "Stomil" Rubber Products Factory, The "Wawel" Confectionaries Factory, the Railway Worker's Home on Warszawska Street, the obelisk in front of the Krakow "Kabel" Factory and the monument to the fallen workers of 1936 in the Rakowicki Cemetery.

POZNAN '56 PARTICIPANT RECALLS POLITICAL EVENTS

Poznan WPROST in Polish No 25, 22 Jun 86 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Edmund Taszer, chairman of the Public Committee for the 30th Anniversary of June, 1956, by Janusz Michalak; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Thirty years have passed and you, sir, are again chairman.

[Answer] Who should he be? They said: You, Taszer, were chairman then, you shouldn't refuse now. So I accepted.

[Question] Back then, however, you became chairman through a workers' mandate. How did it happen today?

[Answer] Similarly, through a public mandate.

[Question] Looking back over the years, how do you view the events of June 1956?

[Answer] In short, these events should not have occurred. But, since they did, then the final result has helped Poland. The Poznan events directly led to the Polish October from which, after all, many good changes have resulted for the country.

[Question] These events were also the first warning signs for the new regime. Therefore, why, in your view, did we not learn from them? We still had a Polish December [1970] and August [1980].

[Answer] Sir, I personally became convinced of how ignorant the leadership can be. The leadership is simply comprised of very different individuals who respond differently in various situations and who are, or not, inclined to speak with people.

You probably don't even realize how much depends on intercommunication. What, for instance, caused the events in Poznan? On the day before the strikes, we traveled to Warsaw with a delegation. There were no signs of any opposition; no one informed us that our demands were unwarranted. On the contrary. Besides, the situation became so intense that all--from Czerwinski's ministers and secretaries who participated on behalf of the central committee, Klosiewicz from the Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ], and to other participants of

debate--were anxious to close the matter and prevent civil disorder. In Warsaw, we bickered over everything we could and whatever problems remained we discussed in Poznan.

I am convinced that everything could have been solved here if it were not for one clever person saying: we will end for today, please return in the morning, we will inform you of the results. But we are prepared to discuss the matter to its end even if it took till morning.

[Question] Sir, do you still believe that the riots of June 1956 happened by chance?

[Answer] The causes for discontent were immediate but their source was certainly deeply rooted, as for instance, in the performance of the then existing leadership itself. Displeasure had to be shown in either this or some other manner. Things simply came to a head. I, however, do not believe that it should have happened in such a distressing manner; as was also the case in December [1970] and August [1980].

Back then I myself believed that if our demands had been quickly met, there would not have been a Poznan June. Perhaps the events would have taken place some other month or occurred somewhere else; though I am certain things would have proceeded differently. On the following day, when I reported the progress of the talks to the workers, they accepted the results enthusiastically. Only later when it appeared that not everything had been clarified did the people cry out that if the authorities did not want to speak with our delegation then we will go to them. At first, order and discipline was maintained but later the event escaped anyone's control and turned into the already known tragic scene.

[Question] It is often said that the Poznan events of June 1956 have still to receive reliable and comprehensive academic attention. Despite the influence of 30 years, despite demonstrating their significance in 5-year plans, do you, as a participant, believe that there is any veracity to what has been written on the subject? Or, to put it simply, is the "real truth of June 1956" still to be revealed?

[Answer] I really can't say. I only know that very little is available on this subject and what has been published is incomplete and often simply untrue. Let us take, for instance, the book "The Poznan Uprising of June 1956" published in 1981. I contributed to it by writing my recollection of the event, but it was abridged before publication; that which did not suit the authors of the book was omitted.

Similarly, when I read statements in the book written by others, I at once compare them with my own experiences. In my opinion, much that was written was simply not true, the accounts were fabricated.

Furthermore, there are a number of blank spots. That is why this book should not be thought of as providing a true rendition of events, as a record of what actually occurred.

[Question] The authors themselves did not treat the book as such. They apologized at the conclusion, saying that the book was written hastily, in less than 3 months, and therefore "visibly lacks source material and, based on this, relies on insinuations." Other problems include the manner in which material is selected and the commentator's language which reflects a personal connection to the events. But I suppose this is within an author's right.

[Answer] I agree, except that little is available on this subject which could lead some readers to believe that the book contains "the real truth," and this is just not so.

In the coming weeks, a book by Prof Czubinski will become available and will represent a new treatise of his past work on this subject. Having read it, I can say that it is an honest attempt at analyzing what occurred. However, even this book will not satisfy the hunger for knowledge on this subject. That is why our Social Committee submitted a proposal to study and publish a book on the events of June 1956. This proposal had the backing of the authorities of our region and, therefore, is certain to be realized.

[Question] It has been exactly one year since your committee was established, through which it again became possible to speak aloud of the events of June 1956. Do you not fear that it will end at this? After all, as the history of socialist Poland will attest, such matters are most often suppressed and, as Wladyslaw Gomulka had termed in June 1957 during a meeting with the workers of H. Cegielski, covered over by a "curtain of silent mourning."

[Answer] This does happen. Several years ago it was said that the events of June 1956 will be discussed and that historical research will be conducted with its results openly revealed. And indeed today we find written matter on the event to be significantly bolder. This subject is being mentioned in published memoirs as, for instance, in Jan Ptasinski's recent book. However, there is still a shortage of available information. I realize the existence of a dangerous situation--that the enthusiasm of our committee members may flag prompting the event of June 1956 to be suppressed once again. We'll just have to see what happens. At any rate, we will do everything possible to see that "the truth about the Poznan June" be documented more extensively and, above all, published. Because this has not yet happened, we continue to rely on allegations and celebrate myths and false suspicions.

[Question] This is true, but still, we cannot continue to live only in a world of anniversaries, celebrations, monuments and unearthing the problems of the past as if their "resolution" could change anything.

[Answer] In my opinion the workers themselves have had enough of this constant return to the past. However, in order to stop this practice, reliable documents are needed to put an end to the numerous myths and legends which have arisen. Therefore, we should not forget about "painful anniversaries." They should be embodied in our culture as it is in Hungary. We must use past weakness as a source for future strength.

[Question] Sir, let us now move on to your life. After the events of June 1956, you became extremely popular and were elected Sejm delegate once reforms

were instituted in October of that year. But when your term of office and secure position came to an end, you were fired from your job at H. Cegielski. Subsequently, you were criticized by "Solidarity." And yet today, you are chairman of the Celebration Committee. In analyzing your past 30 years, do you feel more satisfaction or disappointment?

[Answer] Without question, I would say satisfaction. I have always been myself and never have I given up. In 1965, when the director of H. Cegielski fired me from my job, I immediately went to Warsaw and saw the minister of machine industry, Ostrowski, who helped me get a job at the Poznan Roller Bearing Plant. I again revealed my individuality when asked to join "Solidarity" but only on condition that I hand in my party card. Naturally I refused.

I always tried to live a simple life and have fought for the public good in accordance with my beliefs.

13090/9274

CSO: 2600/534

SOLIDARITY, 1980S FEATURED IN HOUR-LONG 'DOCUMENTARY'

Congress Delegates To View Film

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jun 86 p 1

[Article by (Jj): "Poland in the Eighties: A New Documentary Film"]

[Text] (Own information) The Documentary Film Studio in Warsaw completed a one-hour documentary, "Poland in the Eighties," representing a social, political, and economic chronicle starting with the fervid summer of 1980.

This film records the growing -- already after the [Solidarity-government] agreements -- wave of strikes and disorganization of national life. It narrates the deliberations of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress and the successive historic sessions of the Sejm. It is a chronicle of the implementation of the policy of national accord formulated by the party and addressed to men of goodwill. It also is a chronicle of an intransigency that spurned any form of talks and compromises following the proclamation of the policy of confrontation by extremist Solidarity activists. It documents the imposition of martial law and the arduous and prolonged process of the reconstruction of the economy and the social and political stabilization of the country.

This interesting documentary film, which utilizes unique archival frames, will be shown on Saturday at 1000 hours on Channel 1 of Polish Television. It will also be shown to delegates to the 10th Party Congress, offstage or during an intermission, while the public may view it at the Non-Stop Cinema in Warsaw for the duration of the Congress.

The film's author is Czeslaw Sandelewski (script and direction). The commentary was written by Artur Howzan, and the archival materials are complemented by contemporary sequences shot by Zbigniew Skoczek.

Filmed Treatment Discussed

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jun 86 p 12

[Article by Jerzy Jurczynski: "First Attempt at Filmed Treatment: 'Poland in the Eighties'"]

[Text] Album-like color pictures. Lines of cars on streets, conveyor belts at automotive plants operating at full speed. Colorful streets, shopwindows, a mood of leisure and joy. This is how begins Czeslaw Sandelewski's documentary film, "Poland in the Eighties," produced at the Documentary Film Studio (WFD).(Footnote) (To be shown on Channel 1, Saturday 28 June.) This colorful brief opening sequence intrbduces a thicket of issües and problems, a signal manifestation of the decline of the "times of [the propaganda of] success": the crisis already was lurking at the thresholds of our homes.

A change in color and tone. Closed gates of plants, empty courtyards of factories, groups of workers near idle machinery, talks, discussions. We know these pictures; we have seen them repeatedly on TV broadcasts. The strike. Later, but still in the summer of 1980, the slogan "Socialism Yes, Distortions No" is conceived. The country plunges into debate and excitement. Days of important decisions are approaching. The Coastal plants stand idle, as do the mines and factories of Silesia, and other regions of the country join the strike. But talks already are under way. In Gdansk and Szczecin. We respond with relief to the signing of the [Solidarity-government] agreements, with the hope that difficult days, days of upheaval, days full of tension and tragedy, will come to an end. But they did not.

The return to work is difficult, bristling with obstacles. Not everyone has accepted the slogan, "Socialism Yes...." Instigators suggest other slogans. Every local conflict becomes a national issue. Strikes and strike alerts multiply.... We already know that this must affect the system of economic and social life. We already know that, following a brief relaxation, political tension is again rising. But there still is much faith that we shall cope with the difficulties, overcome the obstacles.

The government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski is operating in a feverish atmosphere. The Sejm votes on laws of renewal. The party, following heated discussions, convenes the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. Fully aware of its responsibility for the country's fate and that of Poles, the party formulates a program for socialist renewal based on a critical appraisal of the occurrences in the 1970s. A bold but realistic program, and an awaited one. At the top of Solidarity there arise extremist groups which with growing boldness advocate their own program, one distant from socialism. It is they that impose that program on Solidarity. First locally, through the so-called hunger marches, so menacing in their grotesque form, and then at a convention in Olivia Auditorium. KOR "advisers" are close to Walesa, Rulewski, and others. Explicitly antisocialist manifestations multiply and the extremists increasingly often reach for the weapon of provocation. They sow chaos and desire a confrontation.

The frames of the film begin to accelerate as it were, reviving our memories. This is a documentary on several planes; it recalls the difficult days of political struggle and contests, the reformist undertakings of the state authorities and the destructive role of the opposition, which exploits every opportunity. This is no longer a trade union but a movement with the adventurist goal of changing the country's system of society. Strikes in plants and gminas, occupation of buildings, strikes in schools and universities, provocation at the Ronda in Warsaw, demonstrations in front of the Sejm, which votes the self-government bill. The party patiently explains its policy, appeals for a dialogue, for calm, for reason. But it also warns.

The heads of Solidarity desire a collision. In Gdansk they say, "This will not be the last battle," and in Radom they speak of "wrenching the jaws."

The images grow more dense. On 13 December 1981 the Military Council for National Salvation is formed. The Council of State declares martial law. The difficult situation in plants is illustrated by pictures from the Katowice Iron and Steel Plant, where the strike lasted. We view miners' families appealing to sons, fathers, and brothers to return to the surface. The authorities desire to relax the tensions peacefully. At Wujek Mine they failed. There is a mood of depression and tension in the nation. A difficult economic situation at the threshold of a severe winter. Total rationing. Store shelves empty. That was so recently -- the memory is still vivid -- and yet so much time has already passed since those hard days.

Sandelewski alters the film's rhythm. He departs from purely documentary notation, takes a breath, introduces a columnist's note while narrating the arduous attempts to reconstruct the consumer goods market, speaking of stores whose shelves are now fuller, with a greater choice of goods. His narration of party work, of the rise of self-governments and new trade unions, prompts reflections, as does his narration of the formative process of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The great days of the Sejm, during its debate on the trade-union bill, are recapitulated on the screen. Activists from the new trade union are introduced. The nation's life is returning to normalcy, and calm is returning to our hearths. Only now and then, upon appeals by the "underground," attempts are made to disrupt the processes of recovery: young people run out onto streets, demonstrate, hurl stones.

After 505 days the martial law is abolished. The amnesty extends to more than 35,000 persons. This is another step on the road of national consensus and struggle, of accord with all men of goodwill regardless of their [political] origin, in the words uttered by Gen Jaruzelski on behalf of the PZPR.

The film directed by Cz. Sandelewski reminds us of good moments and bad. It narrates the progress on the road to normalization as well as to collapse. We trace the economic accomplishments and the problems in applying the reform, the process of rebuilding the party's authority and the growth of its membership, and the strengthening of program assumptions, supported by the resolution of the Second National Conference of Delegates and the (16th) Workers' Plenum in Lodz. The film also notes the elections to people's councils and the Sejm, the great political campaigns in which the society unequivocally expressed its opinion. But it also notes the death of the Reverend Popieluszko, his funeral, that tragic provocation which emanated from [the party's, the government's] own ranks only in order to ricochet against the party and people's rule and provide arguments for those who wanted to coin political capital from it.

The last part of the film treats of the country's return to the international arena. Visits, new and repeated, are of political and social significance, including the visits by M. Gorbachev, J. Kadar, the Secretary General of the United Nations, prime ministers and ministers from Western countries, Pope John Paul II (in 1983), or Willy Brandt. Polish visits to the United Nations, France, Libya, Algeria, and Tunisia follow.

What have we accomplished? What have we avoided? What have we failed to accomplish? The camera is faced by delegates to the 10th Congress who share with us their personal reflections, as does the film's author Czeslaw Sandelewski and the author of the commentary Artur Howzan. The created a documentary recording 5 years of our latest history, focusing on political and social events. This is a bold and conscientious documentary which reviews, as it were, issues and problems. Of necessity, though, it is incomplete. Issues of youth, culture, and others, remained outside the authors' scope of interests. But this one-hour television film cannot yet represent a complete synopsis of recent events, because it is too early for that. It is, however, an interesting documentary complemented with narrated reflections. It has blazed a trail, which should make it easier for other authors attempting to cope with those times.

1386

CSO: 2600/581

FILM CENSORSHIP POLICY PROVOKES ATTACK

Poznan WPROST in Polish No 24, 15 Jun 86 p 3

[Article by (Paw): "Cultural Notebook"]

[Excerpt] I keep close track of the rubric "New Acquisitions" in FILMOWY SERWIS PRASOWY. In recent years it has rarely provided any revelations, as can besides be seen from the listings, which are so hopelessly bad that they do not deserve mention, because nothing will change about them anyway. But that rubric is also instructive for other reasons. It is dominated by films from the socialist countries that often are -- in the case of Hungarian or Soviet films -- significant and even outstanding. But it also contains a raft of duds which, one can tell in advance, will attract no audiences. This concerns chiefly Romanian, GDR, Korean, or Vietnamese films. Besides, when one looks afterward at film listings in newspapers, it is found that most of these titles are not being shown at all and instead lie dormant in warehouses, because no movie theatre manager is tempted to show them, being obliged to operate at a profit. Such films are being acquired, because they have to be, but that is an unusually sensitive topic around which many chords have to be struck if it is to sound a fully truthful note. This is a task I am not going to undertake, because I did this once before, years ago, and my article was never published. This is one side of the problem. The reverse side concerns the "significant" films from the socialist countries, which too often cannot be found in the listings. What happened, for instance, to Yevtushenko's "Preschool," Simonov's "The Detachment," or Gogoberidze's "A Day Longer Than the Night"? After my review of "Preschool" was published I received a call from a reader asking where he could see that film. I told him truthfully that he could not see it anywhere. At the time I had forgotten that that film was being shown by Editor Mlynarz at DKF Kamera, who regularly provides viewers with a chance to see such films that may be significant but are not loved by the dissemination apparatus. As for the movie theatres, they show a definite preference for karate fights, crocodiles, Indianas [Indiana Jones], and morons from outer space. The audience, too, is unfortunately growing stultified. The so-called propagation of culture, a phrase dripping from the mouths of all kinds of "activists" and "theoreticians" on every occasion, is becoming pure fiction in view of the facts.

1386

CSO: 2600/581

SURGE IN LEMKO NATIONALISM DISPARAGED

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 11 Jun 86 p 3

[Interview with Jerzy Harasymowicz by Wojciech Klemiato: "That Fiery and Malignant Weed -- the Nettle of Nationalism"]

[Text] [Question] You were one of the first to champion the Lemkos at a time when a curtain of silence still hung over their fate. It is thus not surprising that they wanted to view you as an advocate of their cause and a standardbearer of nationalism.

[Answer] But not as a bearer of militant standards of nationalism. Yes indeed, I have long been interested in the fate of the Lemkos. My childhood was spent in the East Carpathians, in Hutzul Land, in the region of Worochta. It was there and as a legacy of my ancestors that I had conceived a sentiment for the Lemko people. As early as in 1959 I had written "Elegie lemkowski" [Lemko Elegies] and subsequently "Lichtarz ruski" [The Ruthenian Candelabrum] in which I pointed to the injustices suffered by the Lemkos and the Boykos, but in which also I took a critical position on Ukrainian nationalism. I thus have the moral right once again to voice my views on these issues which, after all, took a turn other than what I have been publicly advocating more than once.

[Question] You feel so greatly upset over the soiree in honor of Taras Shevchenko organized by the Lemko community? That festivity has besides been recently reported upon in some detail by TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY.

[Answer] At that soiree I was astounded by the large number of Cossack songs deriving from the remote interior of the Ukraine and artificially grafted onto Boyko and Lemko folklore ensembles. After all such songs are totally alien and unrelated to the landscape of the Bieszczady or the Lowland Beskid! A proverbial flower embroidered on the Lemko sheepskin coat. One eminent expert on these communities told me: "Poltava [in the Ukraine] at Komancza [in the East Carpathians] -- that's certainly an exaggeration." Certain folklore ensembles resemble quickchange artists: Cossack fur caps, voluminous Tartar trousers tucked into boots. The only ensemble to remain faithful to Boyko and Hutzul folklore at that soiree was the Susidoyki (Female Neighbors) from Lidzbark Warminski. I was disappointed by the Lemkowyna Ensemble from Gorlice, that very same ensemble which had cost me so much effort and trouble to get shown on television. And now that very same Lemkowyna suddenly is turning into

some ensemble from Zhitomir or Cherkassy and singing, with an enthusiasm worthy of a better cause, about some raven-black Cossack horses. Has that troupe forgotten that it is living among Poles? Previously it sometimes used to sing Polish songs and now it has strangely enough stopped signing them.

[Question] A year ago you were quoted by GAZETA KRAKOWSKA on the subject of, among others, Lemko poets. You had declared, "I now feel that the Lemko period in my life is a closed chapter, that I can depart in peace, because successors and continuators of these matters have arisen. Are you now at peace?

[Answer] Let me revert to the aforementioned Shevchenko Soiree, which was held at the Krakow Philharmonic. A poem was recited there by a Lemko poet whose cordial hospitality I had repeatedly enjoyed. His verses spoke of injustices done to Lemkos by Poles. And indeed, such injustices did take place. I myself have written about them for decades, but I never mentioned that, together with several million Poles, I too had left my family home, the landscape of my childhood with its Baroque church, that I too spent several days riding in a freightcar. I never rent my garments over this and never complained, because that is not my nature. Yet, that Lemko poet picked this as the principal subject of his creative work. Fine, that's his affair. But the situation is completely different when he begins to declare himself as a Ukrainian poet, declaiming:

It is time to return
To native mountains, with the Lemko now
Bearing the name of the Ukrainian people.

Then as a Ukrainian poet he could write about the injustices suffered by Poles, just like I, as a Polish poet, wrote about the injustices suffered by the Lemkos. Then perhaps he could also write about the fascist "regime" of Stecko who, by the dispensation of Hitlerite Germany, had "resided" in Lvov for a day or two. Then also he might write about the entry of the "Halyczyna," the Galician SS Division, into Lvov. As a child I had witnessed their entry into the city, near Janowskie Gate. And as a child, too, I had witnessed the inhuman terror let loose on Poles, Jews, and those Ukrainians who were unwilling to accept the shameful role of collaborators.

[Question] In this place allow me to remind you that last year in the aforementioned interview you had declared, "...In no case should the UPA [Ukrainian Insurgent Army], Bandera and Bulba gangs be identified with the Ukrainian people as a whole. Who else but the Ukrainians had sheltered us against the foe. I want to exclude from Polish-Ukrainian problems the Lemkos as a people which had nothing in common with the bestialities of the UPA.

[Answer] I certainly still mean it. The average Lemko from the Lowland Beskid would comment, "I've nothing in common with this." And he would be right in saying so, and no one could fault him for this. Yet a poet who overnight, so to speak, has turned from a Lemko into a Ukrainian nationalist, must not only don an embroidered [Ukrainian peasant] shirt but also shoulder a moral burden. His conscience won't let him think that he knows nothing. Since he believes that the massacres of the Polish population in Volhynia do not deserve being mentioned by his -- certainly -- noble and just pen, and since he does not

know about the murder perpetrated during a mass on the faithful in the Baligrad church, he should be so kind and close his little, vengeful, and incrustated book of injustices. The unremitting clamor about these injustices, when contrasted with the martyrdom of the Polish nation, which had lost 6 million of its citizens during World War II, is, to put it mildly, crudely tactless. That poet should rather write verses settling accounts with the fascist uniform-wearing traitors to the Ukrainian nation, as that nation itself has long ago already done. Yet, in the poem of that Lemko poet a girl from Kunkowa, a village near Gorlice, makes a pilgrimage to... Kiev, in order to bow to the ground in front of icons, whereupon she names her son Svetoslav and becomes a Ukrainian woman.

From Kunkowa to Kiev the road is long. Those who are ill-disposed toward the Lemkos may wonder why they do not remain there and instead make haste to return considering that they are so badly off in Poland where they are supposedly subjected to chicaneries, kept under surveillance, and persecuted all the time. Over there, in the Ukraine, they with their bows to the icons of the Pechera Monastery, would of a certainty provide an odd if not exotic spectacle to Ukrainian sightseers. It should be borne in mind that the boundary of Soviet Ukraine, like that of any other Soviet republic, cannot be changed even by a millimeter. Instead of daydreaming about gilded onion domes and the fairy-tale times of the Holy Russia of Vladimir, the Lemkos should descend from their colorful iconostasis and touch the ground with their feet; they should rather ponder how to live among Poles. They should overcome the intoxicating and poisonous nationalist fumes which, like a dense fog, veil everything to certain people in the valleys of the Beskid Mountains.

[Question] Have you pondered the causes of the resurgence of nationalism?

[Answer] Several years ago Poland had experienced difficult times. Now we are straightening overturned furniture in our mansion. We are getting up after a big family squabble during which many people wanted the country's good in a different way. Slowly we are getting on our feet. Benefiting from the unrest, various enemies of our Fatherland have reared their heads. Hence the strange metamorphosis that has also affected the warmhearted and good mountain folk who have figured as the heroes of my verses and poems. I recall an event from my childhood. It was in the fall of 1941. In a school courtyard, in a small town in eastern Little Poland, I was beaten up by a gang of young rowdies for having told them that, despite my "Ukrainian" name, I would speak with them only in Polish. What hurts me is not that beating but the nationalistic illusions. This cannot be glossed over as if things were all hunky-dory among the Lemkos.

[Question] But is it hunky-dory that they have no literature of their own?

[Answer] The periodical NASZE SLOWO is being published in Poland by the Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society. Naturally, it focuses chiefly on Ukrainian culture. Yet there is no other literary outlet for the Lemko or Boyko ethnic groups. NASZE SLOWO devotes to the Lemkos and their problems just one page, a page adorned with a drawing that, of course, shows a bucolic shepherd playing his flute. Hence, I have proposed that a monthly periodical to be called LEMKO be established for those who have remained Lemko and are

staying true to their beautiful culture. Such a periodical could explain and say many things to Poles. It could offer stories about joint wartime partisan detachments, the joint resistance movement in, for example, the former Gorlice County, and the service of hundreds of Lemkos in the Polish Army, both in 1939 and in 1945. Lastly, it could print the lovely Lemko poetry, whose roots reach to the 19th century. It could offer insights into the art of the Lemkos, of their icon painters. It could tell the truth how the UPA's torches set afire the houses of both Poles and Lemkos. Thus, what the Lemkos need is neither bandores nor Cossack whoops; all they need is a periodical of their own. I recommend establishing such a monthly, especially to the Director of the Culture Department under the PZPR Central Committee Witold Nawrocki and the Minister of Culture and Art Kazimierz Zygulski.

I'm voicing my views with a certain detachment, as it were, because my fascination with the Lemkos is ancient history now. What is left of it is some poems of mine as well as, and above all, friendly interest in a community that has often extended to me a cordial welcome. This has been my experience, for example, when visiting the Rev Myron in Gorlice, an ethnic Boyko, or the Trochanowskis in Bielanka, those animators of the Lemkowyna Ensemble, or the composer Jaroslaw and his wife Stefania, an excellent poetess whose verses mirror the simple and lovely landscape of the Lowland Beskid. And that is why I feel perturbed because a weed dragged over from long since vanished steppes, the fiery and malignant nettle of nationalism, formerly completely alien to the meadows of the Lowland Beskid, is now springing up and burgeoning in these parts.

1386

CSO: 2600/620

HIGHWAY LINK TO SOUTHERN EUROPEAN PORTS FAVORED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28-29 Jun 86 p 3

[Reprint of GLOS SZCZECINSKI article by Professor Piotr Zaremba: "From North to South Through Szczecin"]

[Text] The two Polish city-and-port agglomerates, Szczecin and Gdansk, should become part of the European network of highways if they are to maintain their position as leading world ports or they will gradually and inevitably decline by the 21st century. That is why the planned system of north-south highways in Poland is such a good idea. Such a system of roads would link Poland to the countries along the Danube, the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. The system being planned by our Ministry of Transportation is supposed to provide connections to two Yugoslav, two Greek, two Romanian and two Bulgarian ports as well as to several ports in Turkey. It will also open up a road to Iraq and Kuwait. However, the highway will as planned end in Gdansk with no connections to either Szczecin or Swinoujscie and therefore cut Scandinavia off from this north-south highway. Despite the large amount of criticism they aroused, the 1978 plans released by the Ministry of Transportation stubbornly ignore Szczecin and Swinoujscie and their authors say that Highway E-11 with its narrow 19th-century roads is enough for these ports.

If the countries I have named provide several highways for their ports, then why does Poland refuse to do the same and insist of giving preference to the mouth of the Vistula when the ports along the mouth of the Oder handle 80 percent of the transit traffic from Scandinavia?

I cannot see any sense or justification in the claim that "we cannot afford it". We cannot afford to be short-sighted and ignore the future. We do not have to already begin building a new highway to the Oder ports. This can perhaps be done by the end of the century but we must at least begin planning a route to be able to later reserve the land we need for its construction.

12261

CSO: 2600/573

SATIRICAL LOOK AT 'EGALITARIAN' CRAZE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28-29 Jun 86 p 3

[Reprint of article in GAZETA POMORSKA by Janusz Maka: "Equal Everything"]

[Text] The spectre of egalitarianism is floating around Poland. This is a poison to industry and hard work. It works slowly but efficiently.

At many of the meetings and discussions that I have attended recently, there was an all-embracing urge to revitalize the economy and improve interpersonal relationships. It is from these very demands that I have tried to create a "program" for improving the order of our society in accordance with what people generally expect.

Therefore, we cannot allow doctors and construction workers to travel abroad because once they return, they no longer want to treat illnesses for free or build homes.

We must liquidate "PolSERVICE". If anyone already has a contract with them, that's too bad. Let them give all of their former pension in zlotys to their wives!

Let us forbid young and attractive Polish girls from running after foreigners, especially Swedes, and not even let them have passports. We can let the stupid, ugly and old girls do what they please.

We cannot let sportsmen go abroad either. Let "Carrot-Top" go back to Widzew. He's already snatched enough for himself.

Foreign vacations should also be stopped because it is always the ones that have the money that take them.

Let's keep egg-heads, especially the young ones, from going to the West to study because they either take off for good or get rich. Foreign students should be kicked out -- they do business more than they study. Soon, every province in Poland will have a university so they can wait and quit wandering.

We need to check up on certain guitarists and screamers. How is it that they earn more in one day than an engineer gets in three months?

Shut down the boutiques. Who needs blouses for 15,000 zlotys? Shut down "Moda Polska" too -- who can afford it?

Someone can say that I am exaggerating. I admit I have a little. However, this is typical of the way Poles think and in this we can also find the reason why the results of certain efforts are so uneven.

12261

CSO: 2600/573

BRIEFS

WARSAW PZPR TACKLES ADDICTION--At a conference at the Warsaw PZPR Committee, attended by nearly 30 representatives of institutions in the nation's capital that fight drug abuse, an attempt was made to draft a comprehensive program for combatting drug abuse in Warsaw Voivodship. During the discussion, in which First Secretary of Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz took part, the participants, among whom were representatives of the administration, the school system, the health service, and social organizations, including the "Return from U." initiative group of the Society for Families and Friends of Dependent Children, evaluated the activities of discrete elements of the anti-addiction movement and formulated recommendations addressed to the authorities in the nation's capital. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

VOIVODSHIP PROSECUTORS CONFER--(C) In Piotrkow Trybunalski on 16 [Jun 86] was held a conference of voivodship prosecutors under the chairmanship of the Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic Jozef Zyto. At the conference the implementation of the program of action of the Procurature of the Polish People's Republic in 1986 was evaluated. In addition, current problems of combatting crime and manifestations of social pathology were discussed. The purpose of the conference was to consider the most effective organizational measures promoting a more effective curtailment of such manifestations. At the conference, which was chaired by Prosecutor General of the Polish People's Republic Jozef Zyto, it was emphasized that the struggle for the rule of law and a high moral condition of the society requires the application of every measure at the disposal of the procurature. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

DEFENSE COMMITTEES MEET--Voivodship defense committees conferred in: Krosno (fire safety at medical facilities, hospitals, and nursing homes was evaluated); Skierniewice (measures to combat social pathology among minors were discussed); and Legnica (problems of order, discipline, and security in the region were discussed). [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jun 86 p 4] 1386

GDR FOREIGN MINISTRY TALKS--On 19 and 20 [Jun 86] were held in Warsaw political consultations between the ministries of foreign affairs of the Polish People's Republic and the GDR concerning the FRG and West Berlin. On the Polish side the talks were led by department director Janusz Fekecz and on

the GDR side by Director of the Department for the FRG Ambassador Karl Seidel. The delegation from the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs was received by Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

PISM'S NEW INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL--On 20 [Jun 86] was held the inaugural session of the new Scientific Council of the PISM [Polish Institute of International Affairs]. Professor Jarema Maciszewski, rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, was elected chairman of the Scientific Council, which consists of 41 experts on international relations from across the nation. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

PARTY PSYCHOLOGISTS, EDUCATORS MEET--On 20 [Jun 86] conferred the Presidium of the Party Team of Psychologists and Educators under the Department of Science, Education, and Scientific-Technical Progress, PZPR Central Committee. The team's accomplishments during the period between the Ninth and Tenth party congresses were assessed, and the agenda for successive future meetings of the team was discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

NOWE DROGI EDITORIAL COUNCIL--On 23 [Jun 86] was held a session of the Editorial Council of 'NOWE DROGI' under the chairmanship of Tadeusz Porebski. Editor-in-Chief Stanislaw Wronski presented the results of the editorial staff's work prior to the 10th Congress as well as the plans for the immediate future. The council emphasized the periodical's accomplishments in presenting subjects relating to the theory and practice of socialism-building, on at the same time recommending improvements in the formula of this theoretical and practical organ of the party. Stanislaw Opalko and Jan Glowczyk took part in the deliberations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS IN ROME--Rome--On Monday political consultations were held in Rome between the Polish and Italian ministries of foreign affairs. They were led on the Polish side by Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski and on the Italian side by Director General for Political Affairs Boris Biancheri. Deputy Minister Olechowski was received by Minister of Foreign Affairs Giulio Andreotti. During the consultations and talks the current status of bilateral relations was reviewed. The development of Polish-Italian relations was positively evaluated, and the desire to strengthen them in all domains was expressed. In addition, views were exchanged on basic problems of the international situation, pointing to the need to take active measures in behalf of the policy of detente in East-West relations, halt the arms race, and promote constructive international cooperation. Polish Ambassador in Rome Jozef Wiejacz took part in the consultations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 86 p 7] 1386

CZYREK ARTICLE IN 'PRAVDA'--Moscow--The 27th CPSU Congress and its decisions and ideas are a source of inspiration to not only communists but all working people who support the socialist development of Poland, to the entire Polish nation. This is stated by Politburo Member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek in his article, "In an Inseparable Alliance," published in PRAVDA on 23 [Jun 86]. J. Czyrek further stated that the 27th Congress has convincingly demonstrated that a nation which poses to itself such bold aims

and tasks and focuses its effort on progressive matters is objectively interested in maintaining and strengthening peace. This unity of tasks in domestic and foreign policy yet again confirms the organic relationship between the ideals of socialism and peace in the policy of the CPSU. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 86 p 7] 1386

GERTYCH MEETS SCIENCE JOURNALISTS--Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Gertych met with science journalists. Their role in promoting science and culture was discussed and the question of ways and means of attracting the interest of our society in Polish science considered. During the meeting, the annual awards of the Club of Science Journalists under the Polish Journalists' Association for journalistic accomplishments in 1985 were conferred. The jury decided not to award the first prize. The second prize was awarded to Editor Wladyslaw Majewski (KOMPUTER). Two third prizes were awarded to Editor Jolanta Lenartowicz (GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI) and Editor Wojciech Sierakowski (GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI). The special PAN (Polish Academy of Sciences) award, given annually for nearly 20 years now was conferred on Editor Andrzej Kucharski of the DTV Daily Televised News Broadcast. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Jun 82 p 2] 1386

SOVIET ANNIVERSARY MEETING--On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the signing of the first agreement on cultural exchange between Poland and the USSR a friendly meeting was held at the Soviet Embassy. It was attended by Waldemar Swirgon, Zbigniew Gertych, Director of the Culture Department under the PZPR Central Committee Witold Nawrocki, Minister of Culture and Art Kazimierz Zygulski, representatives of the science and artist communities, and journalists. The meeting was hosted by Ambassador Vladimir Brovikov. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Jun 86 p 2] 1386

KIEV, JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITIES AGREEMENT--An agreement for scientific and cultural cooperation during the years 1986-1990 was signed on 30 Jun by the Jagiellonian University in Krakow and T. Shevchenko University in Kiev. The Jagiellonian University also signed a program for cooperation with the oldest higher educational institution in the GDR -- K. Marx University in Leipzig. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Jul 86 p 12] 1386

LIBYAN CHILDREN VACATION--Several dozen Libyan children, who will be vacationing in our country, have arrived in Poland. The Society of Friends of Children, among others, organized their visit. LOT arranged for the young Libyans' flight in both directions and for transportation by one of its buses. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Jul 86 p 2] 9909

PZPR CC LECTURERS MEET--The party's tasks following its 10th Congress were discussed on 7 July during a meeting of lecturers of the PZPR Central Committee and Voivodship Committees. Jozef Czyrek and Henryk Bednarski took part in the meeting, and emphasized in their statements the necessity of disseminating the achievements of the congress as early as possible. Next, J. Czyrek answered questions from the lecturers concerning the course of the proceedings of the highest PZPR forum; he also described the method of introducing individual items contained in the congress documents. The meeting was chaired by Wladyslaw Loranc, the head of the PZPR CC Ideological Department. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jul 86 p 2] 9909

MEETING WITH SOVIET POLITICAL SCIENTISTS--Prof Georgiy Kh. Shakhnazorov, the chairman of the Political Science Society of the Soviet Union, on a visit to Poland, met with the president of the Polish Political Science Society [PTNP], Prof Longin Pastusiak, and with a member of the Main Administration of the PTNP. There was a discussion of problems related to cooperation between the political science societies and political science circles in both countries. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jul 86 p 2] 9909

KROSNO DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The regular meetings of the voivodship defense committees have been held. In Krosno, there was an assessment of the progress of the inspection-verification operation carried out under the covername "Sektor" at units of the nonsocialized economy. As a result of the inspection, 14 criminal proceedings and 107 criminal-financial proceedings were initiated in the voivodship, and the financial authorities imposed fines totaling 3,380 thousand zloty. Many suggestions for penalties were forwarded by the misdemeanor collegium. Several agency contracts were terminated, and the licenses of more than 10 owners to conduct economic activities were withdrawn. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Jul 86 p 6] 9909

OLSZTYN DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The regular meetings of the WKO [Voivodship Defense Committees] have been held. In Olsztyn, there was a discussion of the state of the organization and the activities of the Civil Defense units in the region. [Excerpts] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jul p 2] 9909

KATOWICE DEFENSE COMMITTEE--A meeting of the WKO in Katowice on 9 July was devoted to an assessment of the state of security, calm and public order, particularly taking into account activities serving to overcome occurrences of social pathology. Preventive tasks aimed at countering the negative phenomena were formulated. The WKO issued an appeal to parents and youth organizations to intensify their supervision and guardianship of young people, especially during the vacation period. [Text] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jul 86 p 2] 9909

ISRAELI CP CC VISIT--On 9 July, Ernest Kucza, head of the Foreign Department of the PZPR Central Committee, met with Routh Lubicz, a member of the Central Committee of the Israeli Communist Party, who was attending the 10th Congress and making a working visit to Poland. There was a discussion of selected problems associated with further cooperation between the PZPR and the Israeli Communist Party. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jul 86 p 2] 9909

FARM WORKERS UNION MEETING--In recent years, enterprises and institutions in socialized agriculture have achieved a fundamental improvement in their production results; there has been a growth in the productivity of labor and in economic results, and along with this there has been an increase in the earnings of workers. Has the increase in wages, however, always corresponded to increased effort, are the economic-financial systems in economic units in socialized agriculture optimal, and along what lines should modifications be made to them? These problems were considered in Warsaw at a plenary meeting of the National Council of the Federation of Trade Unions of Agricultural Workers in Poland, the main subject of which was economic and wage problems against the background of the production and financial results in socialized agriculture. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Jul 86 p 8] 9909

NATIONAL GRUNWALD COMMITTEE PLAN--There has been a meeting in Warsaw of the commission for administration of the Grunwald complex of the National Grunwald Committee. The state of the historic site and its surroundings were discussed, and a program of activities for the current 5-year period was also adopted. Efficient use of the already existing elements for administration of the area and the past conceptual achievements was advocated. In effect these activities should lead to the creation of a functional historical and tourist group with high excursion values, with the permanent buildings concentrated in Stebark. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Jul 86 p 8] 9909

MOSCOW EMBASSY HOSTS MEETING--Moscow. A meeting at the Polish Embassy in Moscow on Thursday was devoted to the results of the 10th PZPR Congress. Those attending included Yuriy Afanasiev, the deputy chief of the Cultural Department of the CPSU Central Committee, Deputy Foreign Minister Vadim Loginov, Evgeniy Zaytsev, the first deputy minister of culture, representatives of the Soviet Army and the leadership of the trade unions, the Komsomol, and the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society, and journalists. Polish Ambassador to the USSR Wlodzimierz Natorf, a delegate to the 10th Congress and a member of the PZPR Central Committee, described the course and results of the congress and its significance for the further development of socialist Poland. Those attending the meeting were shown film coverage of the 10th Congress and of the participation in it of a CPSU delegation headed by M. Gorbachev. There was a meeting of the party organization at the Polish Embassy in Moscow, to which workers at Polish representations in the Soviet capital were invited. At that meeting, Ambassador W. Natorf discussed the problems of the 10th PZPR Congress and the tasks that the congress resolutions set for the employees of Polish foreign services. Particular significance in their activity is ascribed to the comprehensive development of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union within the framework of the strategy of the accelerated socioeconomic development of both countries that has been drawn up by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jul 86 p 7] 9909

SZCZECIN DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The Voivodship Defense Committee in Szczecin discussed the situation in agriculture prior to the harvest. This year, 206,000 hectares of grain and almost 40,000 hectares of sugar beets will be harvested in the Szczecin voivodship. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jul 86 p 5] 9909

JOURNALISTS ON CONGRESS REPORTS--On 14 July, Jan Glowczyk, a Politburo member and a secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, received representatives of the leadership of the Main Administration of the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic, including President of the Main Administration Klemans Krzyzagorski. There was a discussion of the preparations of journalists to carry out the tasks resulting from the resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress. Marian Kruczkowski, vice president of the Main Administration of the Association of Journalists of the PPR, and Andrzej Ziemiński, secretary general of the Main Administration, participated in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jul 86 p 2] 9909

PRON MEETING ON YOUTH--A meeting devoted to PRON's achievements in the area of the patriotic-defense education of youth has been held. There was a

discussion of past working methods, and a decision was made concerning broader participation by PRON councils and cells in activities in this area. Jerzy Jaskiernia, secretary general of the PRON National Council, and Rear Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, the first deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army, were present. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 Jul 86 p 2] 9909

EDUCATION COOPERATION WITH SYRIA--A delegation from the Syrian Ministry of Higher Education, with Dr Kamal Sharaf, the head of that ministry, is visiting Poland. In talks with Benon Miskiewicz, the minister of science and higher education, the need to develop direct cooperation between schools in the two countries was discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jul 86 p 2] 9909

FRIENDSHIP MEETING WITH IRAQ--On the occasion of the Iraqi national holiday, a Polish-Iraqi friendship evening, organized by the Iraqi Embassy and the Polish-Iraqi Friendship Society, was held at the Warsaw Cultural Center. The participants in the meeting watched a film showing architectural monuments demonstrating the rich past of the Iraqi people. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jul 86 p 2] 9909

CHINESE EDUCATION DELEGATION VISITS--A delegation from the PRC State Education Commission, led by Deputy Minister Huang Xinbai, visited Poland from 26 June to 3 July 1986. The delegation conducted talks at the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and at the Ministry of Education and Upbringing. There was a discussion of the state of cooperation in the area of higher education, and the main directions for its development during the years 1987-1990. It is expected to be intensified and expanded in scientific research and the training of personnel. Chinese Ambassador Wang Jingqing participated in the talks. The delegation was received by Prof. Benon Miskiewicz, the Minister of Science and Higher Education. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jul 86 p 10] 9909

CONGO CP, OPZZ MEETING--On 2 July, there was a meeting between Dominique Bouhouay, a member of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party, and Leszek Brojanowski, deputy chairman of the OPZZ [National Agreement of Trade Unions] at the OPZZ headquarters in Warsaw. During a friendly conversation, the guest inquired about the development and situation of the trade union movement in Poland. Mutual information was provided on the subject of the goals and tasks facing the trade union members of both countries. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Jul 86 p 4] 9909

9909

CSO: 2600/583

DELEGATE ON POLLUTION AT ROMANIAN BORDER

AU301916 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jul 86 p 5

/Report on answers to delegate questions at the SRFY Assembly session in Belgrade on 24 July/

/Excerpt/ Representatives of the Federal Executive Council have given answers to delegates questions that were asked before and to some of them that were posed to them the day before yesterday.

Janko Obocki, president of the Federal Committee for Labor and Health, answered Dr Miodrag Trifunovic's question on what had been undertaken with the Romanian Government to prevent dross and dust from the copper mine near Moldava /as published/ being carried over to the communes of Golubac and Veliko Gradistke. It can be concluded from the answer that this phenomenon had not been monitored and expert institutions were advised to establish the facts.

Trifunovic was not satisfied with the answer since, as he put it, the point of his question was what had our government undertaken with the Romanian Government to prevent this, because the dust is endangering people's health. However, disagreement did not stop here. When a representative of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs later during the session answered a similar question asked by delegate Silvano Sau about air pollution because of the construction of a thermoelectric power plant in Muggia, near Trieste, Trifunovic asked to be given the floor in order to supplement this question.

It is strange. Trifunovic says, that one question is answered by the Federal Committee for Labor and another by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs when both questions belong to one and the same topic. On the occasion of one question, the Federal Executive Council warned the Italian Government, and in this other case it failed to do the same with Romania. And what is at stake are citizens from the territory of the SFRY, only some are on one end and others on the other end of the country.

/12228

CSO: 2800/339

BRIEFS

ZAGREB. ECOLOGY MOVEMENT--Zagreb, 4 Jul--The ecology movements belong to the whole world and its civilization--this is what Dr Franjo Grcevic, professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb and the just-elected president of the "Ecological Public" /Ekoloska Javnost/ Association, founded several days ago at the Zagreb University, told us. The new association, following worldwide phenomena, has adopted its constitution and will soon direct its activities toward the public. It is interesting that several days ago the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb received a letter from the Institute of Social Sciences of Belgrade University. It concerns the action conference of the trade union of this institute, which is calling on its Zagreb colleagues to support their demands regarding the prohibition of the building of nuclear power stations which endanger the physical and mental integrity of the present-day and future generations. The new association from Zagreb will support this action but as far as the work of the ecological association is concerned, it is known that the resistance of those who are in favor on nuclear power stations exists. It is thought that the pressure of the "nuclear lobby" which supports the building of nuclear power stations will in fact come from there. Soon more will be heard about a more intensive activity of the "Ecological Public" which has adopted its program and which made its ranks opened to all entities of the population. /Text/ /Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jul 86 p 8 AU/ 12228

CSO: 2800/339

SLOVAK MINISTER CALLS FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Jun 86 p 4

Article by Eng Jan Vajda, CSc, of the ministry of education of the SSR:
"Toward Greater Intensity in Higher School Studies"

[Text] An unavoidable prerequisite for the further economic and social development of the CSSR is the intensification of the activities of all areas of the national economy. The requirement for a higher intensity of labor also applies fully to the higher schools, their teachers, and their students. The most important conditions for increasing the effectiveness of the education and training process include:

--changes in the style of teachers' work with the introduction of more modern approaches to education and training and the development of modern methods of education;

--sufficiently intensive and systematically independent creative work by the students;

--the creation of adequate material facilities and personnel and social conditions;

--effecting structural and organizational changes in the higher school studies which create the space for fulfilling a given goal.

The growth in demands on the graduates' training with a relatively high number of students does not allow us to continue old, inefficient methods of management of the higher schools and the education and training process itself. The socially essential and justifiable requirement for increasing the quality of higher school training cannot be achieved without looking for new ways to solve the problem, both from the standpoint of the education department and from the standpoint of other agencies and organizations for which the higher schools are training personnel. The education of the graduates can be looked at as a highly important task from social and political aspects, which demands an active approach not only from the teachers, higher schools, and education department, but also from social practices.

In connection with research and development as the main means of intensification and increasing the productivity of labor, there is discussion especially about the third group of conditions for increasing the effectiveness of the education and training process. In this area, despite many positive results, we are not succeeding in maintaining the desired rate of development of the material and technical facilities and space available to the higher schools. It is therefore necessary to make use of the potential capabilities and capacity of the higher schools as a direct source of their material and technical augmentation and to take effective measures more rapidly.

A number of structural and organizational changes were made in the education department to increase the effectiveness of the education and training process. These include, for example, adjusting the length of studies, changes in the contents of studies, and approval of a new law on the higher schools. In connection with this, a relatively large number of intensification measures were taken aimed at utilizing the unused capacity within the department. This new, untraditional approach to solving the problems has achieved great successes, but there have also appeared deficiencies, whether new ones or old familiar ones, which are showing up more significantly. This new approach is the path of doing away with the evolutionary and extensive development of the higher schools, the path of looking for new approaches, and thus the path which should gradually lead to a new quality in the work of the higher schools. It is only logical that there would be a lot of discussion about it.

Independent Creative Work by the Students

Structural and organizational changes and a material and technical base do not, however, automatically lead to intensification of the higher school studies in the work of the higher schools without the contribution of a subjective factor. The explosive quantitative growth in new scientific and research and development information itself directly demands new approaches both on the part of the teachers and from the students themselves. It is also necessary to take into consideration that during the course of the cycle of studies much of the information acquired will become outdated. The goal of education and training must adapt to this fact since it is not any longer such a strictly defined system of knowledge, skills, and habits, as much as the ability to work independently and creatively with information and to master thoroughly the theory and methodology of the appropriate field of study. While in the past the teacher was considered the decisive factor and the main means of passing on new information and an integral part of the pedagogic mystery was a well-prepared lecture, today we must inescapably shift our attention also to the student and to the new methods of the teaching process based on an active role of the student through his independent and creative work. The content of this work should be chosen not only according to the ideas of the higher school or a selected group of teachers, but should be in accordance with the demands of practice and the trends in the development of the discipline of science being studied.

The transition from the informational aspect of the orientation of the education and training process to the formational and methodological aspect, as well as the transition from creating the ability of the students to reproduce information to forming an ability to utilize independently and creatively information acquired to resolve practical problems is an important feature of the new concept of higher school studies.

The basic values of socialist pedagogy are, of course, not changed within its framework and the principles of communist education and the pedagogic experience acquired and gradually clarified didactic principles are preserved. But the role of lectures, exercises, and seminars is changed in the sense that they become on the one hand not so much the source of, but rather an introduction to, independent studies and on the other hand the means for goal-oriented practical exercising of the teaching materials and a systematic checking up on the course and results of the student's independent work. Changes in the concept of higher school studies understood this way should also take into consideration the "consumers" or graduates. It is also not possible to educate specialists ready for all narrow fields of specialization. The new concept takes as a goal the education of a broadly trained graduate who has creative capabilities and knows how to adapt himself relatively rapidly to actual conditions. It must, however, naturally also provide certain room for adaptation.

Put an End to an Academic Understanding of Education

It is being demonstrated that in connection with the intensification of higher school studies the primary task will be to improve the quality and intensity of the students' creative work, to which the other conditions increasing the effectiveness of the educational process must be subordinated.

There will be a higher educational effect by the student who has mastered the necessary knowledge and selected the most recent information by active mental or practical abilities. The main role of the teachers currently is to put a definite end to an "academic" understanding of education and training activities in which the student is able to "slide" through the semester without any relatively great effort. To achieve a situation where the student systematically, uniformly, and sufficiently intensively works throughout the entire school year is more demanding both for the teacher and for the student. For today's large-scale student bodies, it would be a great mistake to rely on the students having enough inner motivation for intensive work. For many of them, substantially better results would be achieved where the teachers create enough "pressure" on them for high-quality, regular, and systematic work. The principles of how to achieve such a situation are already well known today. New study regulations were issued in 1980 to support them as well. Unfortunately, although their application has steadily improved in quality, we have not succeeded in achieving a decisive changeover in the type of work of either the students or the teachers or a retreat from the tendencies making for just average work and studies. Research on selected model students showed

that with few exceptions the amount of time for independent work does not amount to even half of the desired value and as a rule in the higher grades it even has a tendency to decline. But the process of independent work is not just a matter of working with books. So far, there are only a few examples of where the students can routinely train directly in the laboratory, for example. A substantial part of the training is rather oriented toward mastering theory, which is, indeed, also important, but in this manner does not produce the same level of acquisition of skills as would occur in the process of active creative activities.

In intensification of higher school studies, it is therefore mainly a matter of creating a situation within the framework of the conditions stated above where the student acquires the vast majority of his knowledge and skills through his own independent and creative work. The teacher carefully directs and controls this process, even if he still continues to be the person in charge of the higher professional and ideological level of the entire process. The independent work of the student thus becomes a subject of management. Management will be successful where it achieves uniformity, a systematic nature, and the necessary intensity of the student's independent work. This will affect not only the level of the educational effects, but also the process of work training, training in creativity and independence, and the very structure of the student's free time, which schools today do not seem to be able to fill with very important things other than political educational work in non-teaching hours. At the same time, this will strengthen the responsibility of the student for the results of his own work and increase the level of the process of self-training and self-education.

A thorough implementation of the method of managing the student's independent work into practice thus will lead to an intensification not only of the educational, but also the training process. Despite many difficulties, in principle there is no obstacle as to why this method cannot be more deeply incorporated into the style of the work of both teachers and students. The role of all responsible workers will be not only to disseminate the experience to date in applying the above method, but above all to devote adequate attention to the development of the students' independent work. This, together with the creation of the appropriate conditions, can significantly affect the entire process of the intensification of higher school studies.

6285/12781
CSO: 2400/354

- END -